APRIL 27, 1992 49145 $2.95

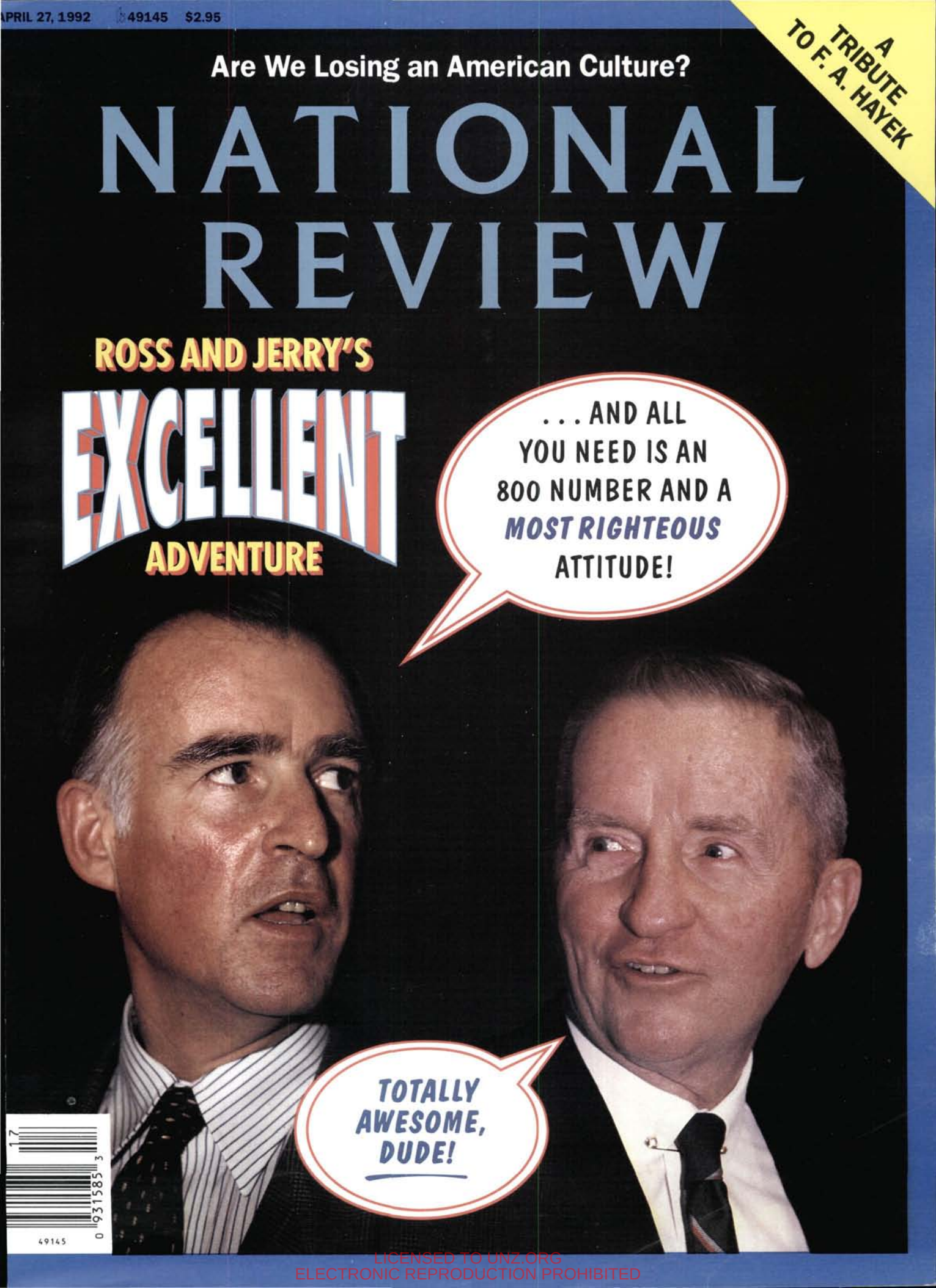
A TRIBUTE TO F. A. HAYEK

Are We Losing an American Culture?

NATIONAL REVIEW

ROSS AND JERRY'S

EXCELLENT ADVENTURE



0 931585 3
49145

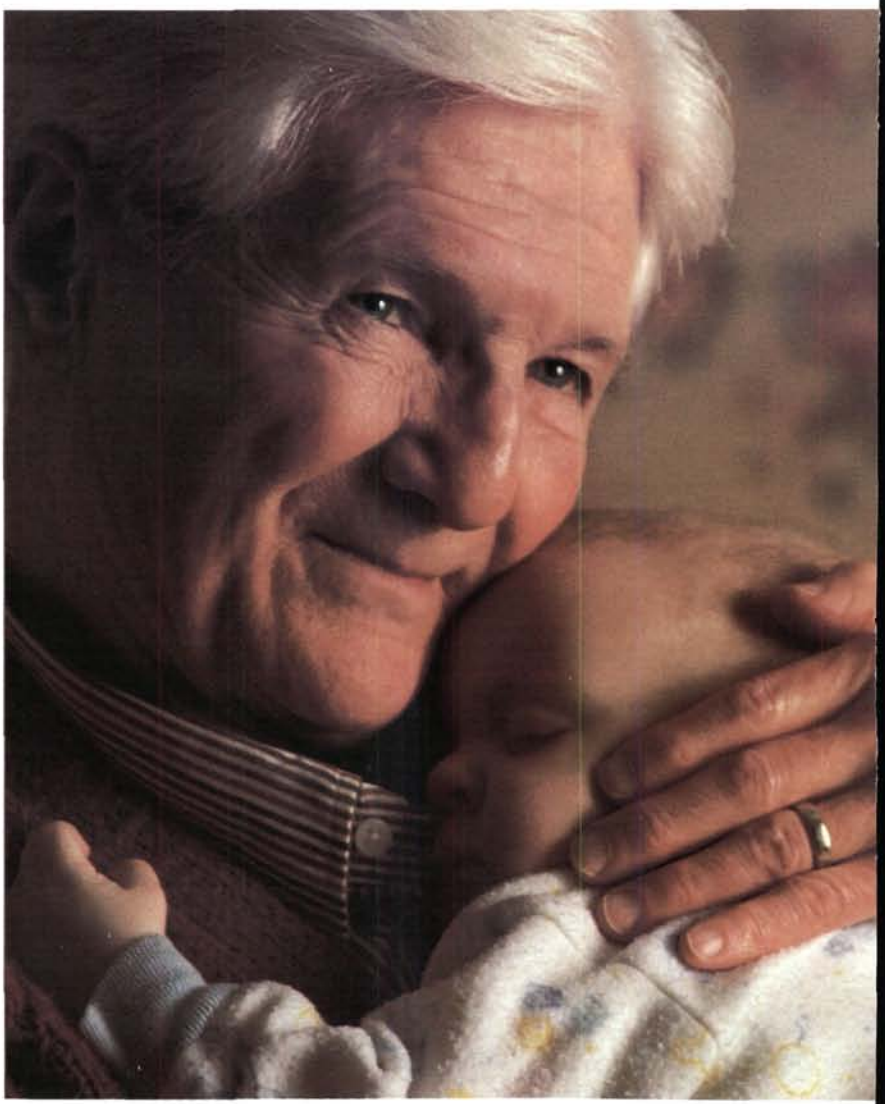
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How we help grand dads be grand dads longer.

With each passing decade, people have been able to hold onto more of life's rich moments.

In 1950, the average life span of men was 65. Today it's approaching 80, due in many ways to advances in medicine. At the forefront are pharmaceutical companies who are making the nation's largest investment in drug research.

We now have 329 medicines in test for 45 diseases of aging. These efforts always hold hope for breakthroughs. Yet the process is slow and difficult, with only a few of the thousands of compounds developed ever achieving success.



This exhaustive, high risk research increases the industry's cost of doing business, and in turn affects the price of drugs. But it also contributes to saving lives, while saving millions in health costs by eliminating or reducing the need for surgery, and shortening hospital stays.

To learn more about pharmaceutical research, and the critical role it plays in health care, call or write for our free booklet, "Good Medicine."

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1100 15th St., N.W., Box Y, Wash., D.C. 20005. 1-800-538-2692.

PHARMACEUTICALS
Good Medicine For Containing Health Costs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

APRIL 27, 1992 VOL. XLIV, NO. 8

Cover Story

38 ***The New Face of American Politics***
In what may be the most politically tumultuous year in a generation, *either* party could win control of both White House and Congress. The key to success? **Michael Barone** observes that Americans are angry and worried, not crazy: the winner will be neither the revolutionaries nor the elitists. . . . **Wick Allison** counts the spots on the wildest card, Ross Perot. . . . Plus: William McGurn on the scene with Jerry Brown. (See below.)

Articles

22 ***On the Scene***
It doesn't really matter, says **William McGurn**, that Governor Moonbeam is no pretty picture: he is a fine critic. . . . It doesn't buy him sunglasses any more, but Daniel Ortega and the Nicaraguan government still see eye to eye. **David Hirschmann** reports . . . While the French elections were a big loss for the Socialists, **Roger Kaplan** sees sobering lessons for all parties.

32 ***The Road from Serfdom***
John Gray surveys the intellectual life of F. A. Hayek, perhaps the greatest mind of the century. **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn**, **Ralph Harris**, **Milton Friedman**, and **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** give thanks for his many gifts.

42 ***Our Disappearing Common Culture***
Must immigration destroy America? Neoconservatives agree that multiculturalism threatens our heritage, but blame it on the Left. Wishful thinking, argues **Lawrence Auster**.

44 ***Leviathan in Rio***
Will the Administration jump on the one (green) world bandwagon? **Murray Weidenbaum** exposes the Earth Summit's disastrous agenda.

Books, Arts & Manners

46 Is Satan politically correct? asks **Richard John Neuhaus**—and where does the *New York Times* fit in? . . . Harvard's Juliet B. Schor demonstrates in *The Overworked American* that we are working longer hours these days, and paying for it; **Richard Vigilante** suggests that her prescriptions need some work. . . . Is the Right beginning to win the culture war? **Christopher Caldwell** finds some interesting signs in Robert Stone's latest novel, *Outerbridge Reach*, wherein the characters actually express some mature ideas. . . . Aaron Wildavsky captures the contradictions of radical egalitarianism; **Peter Hannaford** applauds. . . . **John Simon** allies with homosexual activists on *Basic Instinct*—sort of. . . . William Wegman's show at the Whitney is irrefutable evidence that art has gone to the dogs, says **James Gardner**. . . . Real cooks, fumes **Digby Anderson**, don't eat quiche—though brains, snails, and tripe are a must.

64 ***The Gimlet Eye***
Is it okay to drink and jog? **Joe Mysak** proposes a Conservatism for the Nineties.

Sections

2 ***Letters***
5 ***From the Editor***
6 ***For the Record***
8 ***The Week***
30 help
48 ***Right Books***
60 ***Trans-O-Gram***
62 ***On the Right***

Cover photos: Jerry Brown by Haviv/SABA; Ross Perot by F. Lee Corkran/SYGMA

The Audit Bureau

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1992. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20090-6639; phone, (301) 350-7258, Monday–Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330.

RATES: $57.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Tempted to Tamper

In his interesting account of the Teamsters election ["The Liberation of the Teamsters," March 30], Eugene Methvin refers to the role of our Association for Union Democracy. The story needs one very important clarification: a critical moment in the government's monitoring of the union came early in the process when Michael Holland, the court-appointed election officer, proposed an astonishing set of election rules which would have put control over the two-stage election into the hands of the incumbent local union officialdom. His suggested rules provided that local officials would oversee the distribution, casting, and counting of the ballots without even on-site government supervisors. At one stage, they would even print the ballots. Mr. Holland would simply sit in Washington and receive the tally sheets—not even the actual ballots—composed by the local officials, leaving him the minor task of adding up these contrived figures and announcing the "winners."

It was, as we said at the time, a recipe for disaster. The reason why a government RICO suit against the union was necessary in the first place was precisely that these same local officials tolerated the rule of racketeers, some even participating in it and profiting from it. And Holland intended to permit them to run the election.

All parties in this business, except the AUD, were ready to go along with this absurdity: the Department of Justice, Independent Officer Frederick Lacey, and even, for intricate reasons, some of the reformers. Our association was the only group that objected, and strenuously. In an amicus brief to the judge, we characterized Holland's rules as a travesty of democracy and a guarantee of fraud, and we called for total and complete on-site supervision of every stage of the election by court appointees.

Herman Benson
Secretary Treasurer
Association for Union Democracy
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Resisting Change

Andrew Gimson correctly notes both the unadmitted wish of the governments in London and Dublin "to have as little to do" with Northern Ireland as possible and the probability that British withdrawal from the province "would make the present trouble look trivial" ["A Nice Place to Visit," March 17]. However, he then lapses into an endorsement of the unionist perspective—a perspective that is part of the problem—by categorizing the Anglo-Irish Agreement of November 1985 as futile and as having given a clear message to the unionists that "political activity was useless."

Not so. The only political activity that was useless was the unyielding opposition of the various wings of unionism to any constitutional restructuring of Northern Ireland other than the failed parliamentary-majority system which, since it meant a permanent unionist majority, was incapable of receiving consensus from the substantial nationalist minority.

All that is necessary for political activity to become useful again would be for the unionists to accept some type of power sharing (or concurrent majority, as John C. Calhoun called it) system, which Gimson inappropriately labels a "bogus local democracy," whereby the minority would have a proportionate share of the executive branch of government. If such a system came into place, the Anglo-Irish Agreement (and the unionist-feared role of the Irish Republic in the affairs of Northern Ireland) would by its own terms cease to be.

Naturally, equally unconstructive are those nationalists who condemn the agreement because it weakens the irredentist claim by making any unification of the island of Ireland dependent on the consent of the majority in the North.

John P. McCarthy
New York, N.Y.

Figuring Output

Ed Rubenstein ["Right Data," Feb. 17] commits the same sin he justly accuses liberals of; namely, using inappropriate statistics for an argument.

The annual output per worker, as calculated by the Labor Department, is a measure of the local purchasing power rather than of productivity.

This should be quite obvious. In one country, the housing costs may be ten times as high as in another country without having a significant bearing on productivity. It is hard enough to come up with a conclusion concerning the standard of living by looking at the local purchasing power. In a country with a completely free education, largely paid by VAT, one buys more than a refrigerator when one pays for it. Did you notice that the American worker, by this statistic, has a higher purchasing power than what is generally quoted as the average worker's income? The demonstration of this discrepancy seems to have been the purpose of this statistical exercise.

Elmar Lawaczeck
Birmingham, Ala.

Productivity—output per worker—is the key to economic strength. Despite our many problems, the average U.S. worker still *produces more than his Japanese or German counterparts. This conclusion is not based on statistical hocus-pocus: it simply reflects larger amounts of capital (including land and natural resources) per worker in the United States. Our edge has decreased, however, and if long-term productivity trends persist, Japanese workers will take the lead early in the next century.* —ER

© Rakesh, *Punch* / Rothco

"Darling, there is a 43 per cent chance I'll be home at 8 P.M.*, a 37 per cent chance of 9* P.M. *and a 20 per cent one for 10* P.M. *Plus or minus 3 per cent."*

Setting Us Straight

I want to set your records straight regarding incorrect information printed about me ["Party without a Cause," Feb. 17]. Michael Fredenburg stated I was a former chief of staff for Governor Jerry Brown, a "self-avowed atheist," who came over to the GOP just a few years ago. That is not true. I have been a registered Republican since 1968.

B. T. Collins
Member of the California Assembly
Roseville, Calif.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Electricity May Be The Best Chance We Have Of Getting Where We Want To Go.

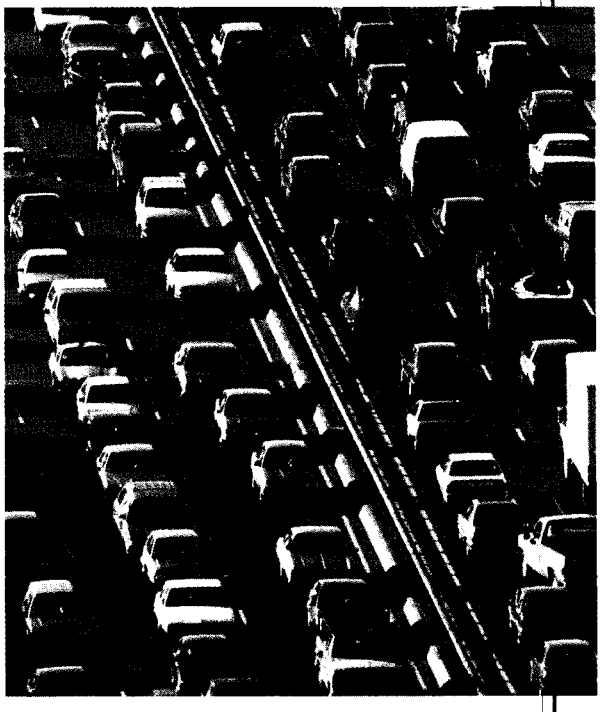
Transportation is one of the glories of our century. We travel faster, farther and more comfortably than at any previous time in history.

Electric trains will significantly reduce emissions levels.

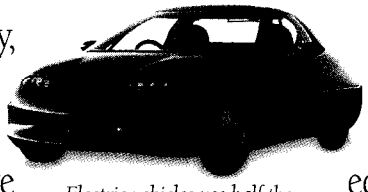
Yet as we enjoy advances in transportation technology, we must remain sensitive to their impact on our environment.

That's why the electric utility industry, along with the automotive industry, is developing innovative technologies that retain the glories of rapid travel, while reducing environmental impact.

Electric vehicles will use half the energy of today's models, while cutting emissions by as much as 50% to 98%. The same holds true for electrically powered buses, trains, vans and light rail systems.



The technological capability is here, ready to be tested, refined and implemented. We need not sacrifice quality of life or quality of transport to maintain quality of our environment. Electricity can take us anywhere we want to go. For more information, call the Edison Electric Institute at 1-800-438-8334 or, in Washington, at (202) 508-5002.



Electric vehicles use half the energy of today's models, while cutting emissions by as much as 50% to 98%.

ELECTRICITY
Taking you into the future.

Electric train courtesy of Southern California Edison Co. • Impact courtesy of General Motors Electric Vehicle.

© Edison Electric Institute, 1991.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After six weeks in the hospital, Tommy was cured of osteomyelitis. But not without complications.

As any child psychologist will tell you, a long hospital stay can be traumatic for a child.

So instead of sending children with osteomyelitis to the hospital for six weeks, one managed care group found a better way.

Parents can be taught to administer the simple intravenous treatment at home, with periodic checks by a visiting nurse. Providing the same level of clinical care, while greatly reducing both the emotional and financial burden on the family.

It's just one example of how managed care is proving to be the most promising direction in our health care system. And why The Prudential is actively trying to expand the use of managed care throughout the country.

Because we don't think anyone's view of health care should be the one pictured here.

To find out more, write: New Approaches to Health Care, The Prudential, 751 Broad Street, 16th Fl., Newark, N.J. 07102-3777.

ThePrudential

© Copyright 1991 The Prudential Insurance Company of America

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

Issue date: April 27, 1992
Print date: April 8, 1992

John O'Sullivan *Editor*

Senior Editors
William J. Bennett / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman
Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Paul Hebert *Art Director*
Mark Cunningham *Articles Editor*
Geoffrey Morris *Executive Editor*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Tony Savage *Assistant to the Editor-at-Large*
Washington Bureau
William McGurn *Bureau Chief*
Editorial Associates
G. Allen Randolph / Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher
Michael A. Watkins
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ed Rubenstein *Economics Analyst*
Research Assistants
Russell Jenkins / Frederick W. Campano
Contributing Editors
Wick Allison / Tom Bethell
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Florence King
Richard John Neuhaus / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Timothy J. Wheeler
Joseph Sobran *Critic-at-Large*

William F. Buckley Jr.
President and Editor-at-Large

Contributors
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
Donald Coxe / John R. Coyne Jr.
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Malcolm Hancock
Nika Hazelton / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / James Jackson Kilpatrick
Nicholas King / Jan Lukas / D. Keith Mano
Charles Burton Marshall / Forrest McDonald
Brad Miner / Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker / Selden Rodman
William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Charles Wallen Jr. / Chilton Williamson Jr.
Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard C. Carpenter *Athens*
Business Services
Kevin Longstreet / Derek O'Ferrall
Vanessa Petrillo / Galina Veygman
Advertising Sales
James J. McCabe *Director*
Suzanne McEntee / Elizabeth Purvis
Direct Response Advertising
Scott Budd
Jack Fowler *Assistant Publisher*
Catherine Moraetis *Assistant to the Publisher*
Patricia B. Bozell *Special Projects Editor*
Jason Ng *Circulation Manager*
Virginia L. Bauer *Circulation Director*
Arthur F. Stetzner *Fund Director*
Helen Gee Chan *Comptroller*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
James X. Kilbridge *Chief Financial Officer*

Edward A. Capano *Publisher*

FROM THE EDITOR

To the Manor Born

■ "Justice?" said Arthur Balfour. "There isn't enough to go round." The Czechs are hoping to prove him wrong. A striking feature of the Velvet Revolution—approaching a crucial test with the elections in early June—is the concern that the newly free Czechoslovakia should be rooted in fairness and morality.

One example is the privatization law that allows former owners to reclaim property confiscated by the Communists after the 1948 coup. Professor Vladimir Reisky of the University of Virginia lost the beautiful baroque Castle Vilemus that year and fled to the West. He returned 18 months ago to recover his property, now in a state of squalid disrepair.

Professor Reisky is restoring the castle as the Czech branch of UVA's Institute of East–West Studies, meanwhile camping out in a partly restored and heated wing. Over a hearty Czech lunch of boiled beef, dumplings, and sauerkraut, Baron Reisky (as he is known locally) was naturally pleased at the new turn of events. He justified the law in pragmatic as well as moral terms. It demonstrated, he said, that property in Czechoslovakia was really secure—even after forty years of totalitarian government. It was, therefore, an incentive to future investors.

Restitution may also help soothe the anxieties of people who see Communist apparatchiks metamorphosing into managers of privatized companies. Restitution signifies a change. And a change backward—which, in the modern world, is perhaps the most revolutionary change of all.

■ When I told Martin Weiss, a Czech journalist who interned at *NR* one summer, about the squalor to which Castle Vilemus had been reduced, he expressed no surprise. The great difference between West and East, he said, was the state of *public* buildings. These were well kept in the capitalist West, while under Communism they went to wrack and ruin. And although the interiors of Czech houses compared reasonably well with those in the West, their exteriors were generally unkempt and decaying.

Maybe we are schooled by our experience of private property (where, after all, we have an incentive to keep things in good repair) to treat all property well. Hence, in a society where private property is officially disparaged, all property suffers. Note to J. K. Galbraith: Private affluence and public squalor occur most noticeably under socialism.

If so, it may be a good sign for Czechoslovakia that a former tenant of Baron Reisky's returned to him a Chinese vase looted by his grandfather some forty years before. He had, he said, a bad conscience about it.

■ My hosts in Prague were the Civic Institute—a sort of Czech mini–Heritage Foundation—which held a superb conference on liberalism. They also held a meeting in which R. Emmett Tyrrell of *The American Spectator* and I held forth at length on world politics, to an impressively large audience. Czechs are a tolerant people.

Some questioners expressed anxiety that Western opinion has wrongly interpreted the "screening" law—which bars some high-level Communist functionaries and secret police from political office for five years—as a "witch-hunt" of innocents. In fact, it is, like the restitution law, an attempt to show that justice is being done.

After forty years of Communist totalitarianism, there must be some reckoning. President Havel has said that all were guilty since even ordinary citizens participated in totalitarianism by their silence and acquiescence. But all are surely not *equally* guilty. High apparatchiks and torturers should pay some penalty. And a temporary loss of civil rights is hardly severe. Together with the restitution law, it tells people in time of economic difficulty that, yes, things really have changed. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ In New York, Democratic candidates for President and First Lady/Attorney General were slinging the dirt, while in California Gov. **Pete Wilson** (R.) made heavy-handed effort to freeze conservatives out of **Bush-Quayle** campaign. Delegates to convention of California Republican Assembly—largest conservative Republican organization in the state—reacted by giving **Pat Buchanan** their straw-poll vote, 134 to 48. Said CRA Vice President **John Stoos**: "Buchanan is helping us bring conservatives to the polls who otherwise might stay home." . . . Buchanan has turned his guns on a popular target: Congress. If your congressmen are clean, he is telling crowds, keep them in. "But when in doubt, throw them out." . . . House Bank scandal is spreading toward Senate. Democratic check-bouncers running for Senate include **Richard Stallings** (Idaho), **Les AuCoin** (Ore.), **Barbara Boxer** (Calif.). And ten Democratic senators are catching flak for having petitioned Senate leadership five years ago to set up a House-like private bank for the Senate. The ten include arch-liberals **Terry Sanford** (N.C.), **Barbara Mikulski** (Md.), and **Tim Wirth** (Colo.). . . . As we go to press, Wirth has announced he will not run for a second term. Among Republicans hoping to replace him is conservative former State Sen. **Terry Considine**, who led successful term-limit ballot initiative in Colorado in 1990. Considine's campaign chairman is former Sen. **Bill Armstrong**, who retired two years ago: 12 years in Washington, he said, is enough. . . . In other Senate races, in California, conservative television commentator **Bruce Herschensohn**, running for Republican nomination to fill Senate seat of retiring Democrat **Alan Cranston**, is edging liberal Rep. **Thomas Campbell**—Pete Wilson's candidate—28 to 25 per cent in latest **Field** poll; 17 per cent went to Palm Springs Mayor **Sonny Bono**. . . . In Illinois, **Rich Williamson** has disappointed conservative supporters. Williamson was chosen by Illinois Republican as sacrificial lamb against (everyone thought) solid Democratic incumbent Sen. **Alan Dixon**. But Dixon was upset by black feminist **Carol Moseley Braun**. Facing her, Williamson has reversed pro-life stance, says he doesn't know if he would have voted for **Clarence Thomas**. After abortion switch, social conservative politico **Paul Weyrich** sent Williamson a funeral wreath.

■ **Anita Hill**, subject of damaging exposé by **David Brock** in *American Spectator*, is now drawing $10,000 lecture fees; she'll be keynote speaker at first conference of Coalition on Sexual Harassment, formed after Thomas confirmation. Other speakers: **Gloria Steinem**, **Bella Abzug**, **Geraldine Ferraro**, **Liz Holtzman**. (Ferraro and Holtzman are both vying for Democratic nomination to run against GOP Sen. **Al D'Amato**.) . . . **Alessandra Mussolini**, granddaughter of **Benito Mussolini** and niece of **Sophia Loren**, won a seat in Italian Parliament in April 6 elections, on neo-fascist Italian Social Movement ticket. . . . The U.S. State Department, as it has done for several years, ordered a poster from the National Women's History Project to commemorate National Women's History Month. State evidently put this year's poster on display without examining it; poster, titled "Women's History—A Patchwork of Many Lives," features portraits of 41 women, including **Lena Horne**, **Margaret Mead**, and, a sharp-eyed visitor noticed, executed Soviet spy **Ethel Rosenberg**.

© Matt, *Daily Telegraph* London / Rotheo

"It's the moment all parents dread—when their child asks about the American electoral system."

■ PR event of the spring will be **Mikhail Gorbachev**'s May speech in Fulton, Missouri, where **Winston Churchill** rang down the Iron Curtain in 1946. . . . More new countries are popping up on territory of old Soviet empire. The latest is the Republic of Trans-Dnestr, which used to be part of Moldavia, which used to be part of Ukraine. Moldavia wants to take back upstart republic, but **Igor Smirnov**, president of Trans-Dnestr, is resisting; he has army of Cossacks behind him. . . . In Baku, capital of newly independent Azerbaijan, five hold-up men raided an official state bank—only to discover there was no money there, zilch. Bank's staff explained that no funds had come into republic's banking system in two months. . . . Russian prosecutors investigating Kremlin files have released to *Ogonyok* and *Washington Post* photocopy of a receipt for $2 million that CPUSA chairman **Gus Hall** received from KGB in 1987, after writing "Dear Comrade" letter to Gorbachev.

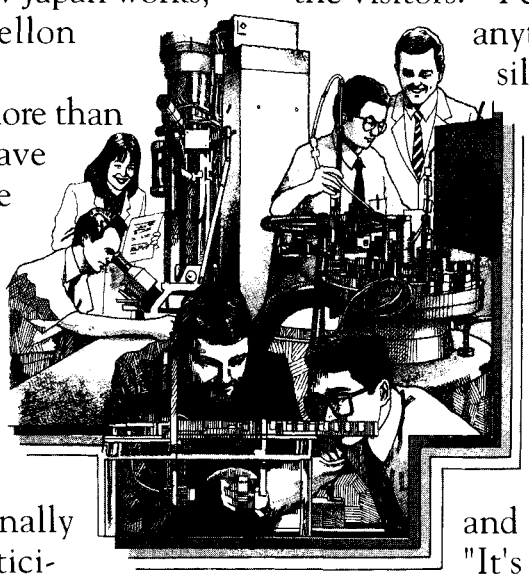
■ On the Right: *This World: A Journal of Religion and Public Life* is now being published by Elizabethtown College Institute for Business and Society (Elizabeth, Pa. 17022). Journal, edited by **Paul Gottfried**, provides thoughtful infields such as constitutional theory and economics. Not recommended by the ACLU. . . . National Journalism Center is accepting applications for its summer internship session, and also its economic fellowship program; 12-week sessions start June 8; deadline for applications is May 15. For info, contact **M. Stanton Evans**, **Chris Warden**, or **Mal Kline** at 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; phone 202-544-1333.

■ Making the rounds in wake of **Bill Clinton**'s denial that he inhaled: The problem with **Jerry Brown** is that he hasn't exhaled.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where U.S. Researchers Find a Home Away From Home In Japan

Researchers are adventurers at heart. So it's no surprise that when Hitachi invited materials scientist Dr. Joseph O. Artman to spend six months this year working at its Central Research Laboratory (HCRL) in Tokyo, he eagerly accepted. "It gave me an opportunity to work in a new area, magneto-optics, and to see for myself how Japan works," recalls the Carnegie Mellon University professor.



Dr. Artman is one of more than 40 U.S. scientists who have worked in Japan over the last six years as participants in Hitachi's Research Visit Programs (HIVIPS). The programs aim to advance science through collaborative research and to enrich participants' lives personally and professionally. Participants work side-by-side with Hitachi scientists on basic problems in electronics and information systems.

For Dr. C.A. Cain, chairman of the University of Michigan's Bioengineering Program, HIVIPS proved a welcome sabbatical. "For the first time in years, I was able to pursue new ideas without interruption," he says. "In my time there, I basically defined my research directions for the next five years."

HIVIPS participants were struck by the effort to make them feel at home in Japan. "One of the nicest things about the program was the friends I made," says Dr. Cain. "We still do joint research and exchange visits," he adds.

HCRL's research facilities impressed the visitors. "I could do just about anything to a piece of silicon that I wanted to," says John Snyder, a Stanford University doctoral student in electrical engineering, who worked on a new kind of transistor. The visitors also appreciated the natural beauty of HCRL's campus,with its goldfish-stocked lake and sheltering woodlands. "It's an oasis of calm in Tokyo," says Dr. Cain.

Hitachi is proud to sponsor the HIVIPS program. We believe that it can make a significant contribution to science, to its participants' lives, and to a better understanding between the U.S. and Japan.

For more information, write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 7515, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163.

HITACHI

© 1992 HITACHI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ *We* say: Pillory Hillary.

■ This week's Slick Willie confession is that, yes, he did smoke some flowers when he was in college, but he didn't inhale and he didn't like it. But you have to inhale it even to smoke it. He didn't have to say he smoked it if he didn't inhale it, yet he said he did and didn't like it. But he couldn't have liked it because you have to inhale it to like it. He didn't have to say he didn't like it if he didn't inhale it, yet he said he smoked it. Nowadays all he smokes is politics and it's working.

■ Just when the Clintons were putting Hillary's crack about wives who stay home and bake behind them, *Vanity Fair* came out with an interview in which she complained that "nothing's ever been said about a George Bush girlfriend—I understand he has a Jennifer, too." Put aside for a moment the incongruity of a candidate's wife's trying to bolster her husband's credibility by claiming his opponent is as sleazy as he is. Forget too that when Gennifer Flowers came out with her charges, both Bill and Hillary Clinton denounced the press for feeding on unsubstantiated rumors. Of course, Mrs. Clinton now says she "regrets" her remarks, just as she has regretted previous cracks about Tammy Wynette and homemakers. But she will have a harder time erasing the impression left by these and other off-the-cuff comments: that Bill and Hillary Clinton belong to a class separated from most Americans not so much by affluence (the Bushes, after all, are wealthy) but by an active hostility to the values and beliefs held by those deemed lower than themselves. That doesn't play even in New York.

■ One way of looking at the New York primary is that Clinton continues to pile up the delegates that will give him a solid first-ballot victory. The other way of looking at it is that, running against a kook and a non-candidate, Hillary's husband managed to do only slightly better than some of Pat Buchanan's losing percentages. The best news from New York was that Jerry Brown finished third, which would seem to indicate that the voters, however desperate, are not totally irresponsible. H. Ross Perot, please copy.

■ Perot, of course, is the guy who wants to throw the bums out of Washington for doling out federal dough and flying around on Air Force planes. But *Newsweek* reports that Uncle Sam has been his best customer. Much of the business for his computer company came from handling Medicaid and Medicare programs. And in the mid 1980s, the Perot Group, with the help of then House Speaker Jim Wright, got over $100 million from the FAA and the city of Fort Worth to build an airport on 431 acres of Perot Group land. Perot and friends in the government now want more federal funds to expand the project.

■ Not since Watergate helped sweep 86 new representatives into office has the House faced the turnover it does today. To date five incumbents have been defeated in primaries in the wake of the check-kiting scandal, and another 30 Democratic and 14 Republican representatives have opted to retire—some no doubt encouraged by a law that allows members to keep their unused campaign funds if they leave office this year. Congressmen's banking manipulations display an appreciation of market forces and incentives notably absent from their legislation, and from their railings about Michael Milken and "a decade of greed."

■ WITH A WHIMPER? Najibullah, the secret-police thug put in charge of Afghanistan by the Kremlin, has agreed, as part of a UN peace plan, to step down. His regime controls little beyond the major cities, and its position looks more and more vulnerable now that Soviet aid has ended along with Soviet everything else. Najibullah doubtless hopes his plan will

Tilting at Windbags.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Lightweight A-2 Flying Jacket

The famous piece of battle gear now in 100% cotton for spring, summer and fall.

CALL TOLL-FREE:
1-800-367-4534
Ext. 635-140

The Jacket of Heroes.

The A-2 Flying Jacket is the most famous piece of battle gear in history. During World War II, the brave pilots of the U.S. Army Air Forces relied on the A-2 for protection and comfort. Whether in the cockpits of P-38 Lightnings over Europe, or P-40 Warhawks over China, the A-2 Flying Jacket identified its wearer as one of an elite, brave breed of fighting men.

From the Official Supplier of the U.S. Air Force A-2.

The U.S. Air Force recently recommissioned the A-2 for its pilots, and selected Cooper Sportswear, supplier of A-2's in World War II, as official contract manufacturer of its leather A-2's. Now, the "Jacket of Heroes" has been re-created for you by Cooper in comfortable 100% cotton. Perfect for spring, summer and fall wear. The Lightweight A-2 Flying Jacket features authentic details including genuine leather snap-down collar, shoulder epaulets, roomy snap-closed pockets, and knit cuffs and waist band.

Payable in Monthly Installments.

The Lightweight A-2 Flying Jacket can be yours for just $119*, payable in four monthly credit card installments of $31.63. Your satisfaction is guaranteed. If you are not completely delighted with your jacket, simply return it in original condition within 30 days for exchange or refund. Available in authentic Desert Tan or Olive Drab. Sizes S, M, L and XL. Own a piece of history. Order today. **Phone orders normally shipped next business day.**

*Plus $7.50 shipping/handling.

© 1992 MBI

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

WILLABEE & WARD W&W

Satisfaction Guaranteed

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534 Ext. 635-140

Please send me the jacket(s) I have indicated below. Fill in quantity and size: S(36-38), M(40-42), L(44-46), XL(48-50) in space provided:

_____ Qty. _____ Sizes(s) Desert Tan Lightweight A-2 Flying Jacket(s).

_____ Qty. _____ Sizes(s) Olive Drab Lightweight A-2 Flying Jacket(s).

*For each jacket, charge 4 installments of $31.63** to my credit card.*

☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐ Discover ☐ Amer. Express

Credit Card Number _____ Expiration Date

Name _____
(Please print clearly)

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Signature _____
(All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for $119 plus $7.50 shipping/handling, a total of $126.50** for each jacket.

**Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

give him and his party, which invited the Soviet invasion in 1979, a chance to escape richly deserved punishment. Disarray among the *mujahedin* still complicates the prospects for the regime's demise, however, and the fundamentalist phenomenon in Afghanistan now appears against the background of rising Islamic fervor in the former Soviet republics across the border. The endgame will be messy indeed. But once Najibullah is gone, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan will have met its final and necessary symbolic defeat.

■ Prospects for European political unity have taken a beating since the heady summit in Maastricht. First there was Germany throwing its weight around on Croatia and economic policy; now the bill for reunification is coming in. Jacques Delors, EC Commission president, has announced that the transition will cost the Community an additional $75 billion in member-state contributions over five years; he and others have bruited about the idea of letting the EC levy taxes directly on individuals or businesses. This was greeted, appropriately, with howls. *Le Figaro* said it best: "We pay tax to the city, we pay tax to the county, we pay tax to the region, we pay tax to the nation, and now we must pay tax to Europe; why not to the United Nations as well? . . . It's too much. How can you ask French people to pay more money to a European authority that asks farmers to leave fields untilled, fishermen to empty their nets, and opens its doors to Japanese cars while threatening the survival of our cheese?"

■ Syrian-backed Marxist Kurds are demanding autonomy from the Turkish government and threatening to terrorize the Turkish people and government until its demands are met. So far its members have set off two bombs and machine-gunned a bus in Ankara. The government at first reacted with restraint but lately has resorted to air raids, including raids on the Iraqi side of the border. Over a hundred Kurds have been killed in fighting over the past two weeks. Dating back to the early empires of Mesopotamia, there has never been Kurdish self-rule; the progenitors of today's Kurds were nomadic herders who wandered the highlands until they were forced to settle by the establishment of national boundaries after World War I. The State Department, in setting policy, now must contend with a group divided within itself along tribal lines, and separated by religion from co-inhabitants of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. Policy-makers must distinguish between the Kurdish victims of Saddam Hussein and Turkey's revolutionaries. That won't be easy when images of dead Kurds again flood the airwaves.

■ In Albanian towns like Noj, the *New York Times* reports, peasants are sealing the end of Communism by pulverizing the government buildings that served as headquarters for collective-farming programs. In what they call "spontaneous privatization," the peasants tear the buildings down and cart off the stones, roof tiles, woodwork, and fixtures for their own use. It's inspiring. Today Noj, tomorrow Washington.

■ Someone, perhaps in the Dartmouth College admissions office, slipped to *The Dartmouth Review* a secret breakdown of applications and acceptances according to race and gender. Of white male applicants, 21 per cent were accepted; of black males, 51 per cent; of Hispanic males, 43 per cent. White female applicants did better than white males, at 27 per cent, but were clobbered by black females, at 57 per cent. The director of admissions virtually had a seizure when the figures were published by the *Review*. You aren't supposed to see affirmative action in operation.

■ A team of researchers in Texas examined ten elementary-school textbooks and found eight thousand errors of fact. One book had President Truman dropping "the bomb" on Korea in order to end the war. The same book said Napoleon won at Waterloo. Another book placed the battle of Vicksburg in Tennessee. Publishers admitted the errors, but explained that the books "meet new and innovative requirements."

■ Spike Lee, Queen Latifah, and other prominent blacks have been wondering why Mike Tyson got convicted, when William Kennedy Smith walked. The thought that the evidence presented in the two cases might have been different seems not to have occurred to them. To our knowledge, no one has asked why a white woman can't get justice, when a black woman did.

■ Scientists have discovered a big fungus in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. *Really* big. Bigger than a blue whale or a giant sequoia. About thirty acres big. And it may be ten thousand years old. It's an enormous network of mushrooms with connected fil-

There Goes Integration

Earl Warren, thou shouldst be living at this hour:
  The Court, on cat's feet stealthy as a fog,
Is turning churning gastric juices sour
  As liberals bemoan this epilogue.
But in New York, where busloads once
    went South,
One strains to hear a peep from its big mouth.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WE'RE LOOKING
FOR THE KIND OF STUDENTS
WHO ARE SO UNUSUAL,
THEY READ THE ADS
IN THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

As marketing strategies go, this one, admittedly, is somewhat unorthodox.

As universities go, so is Adelphi.

What we're advertising here, as opposed to a mere business apprenticeship or a four year vacation, are four wonderful years of discovery.

If that sounds agreeable, we encourage you to learn more by calling the number below.

Just as there aren't a lot of schools out there like Adelphi, there aren't a lot of students out there like you.

And, all flattery aside, now that we've been fortunate enough to meet each other, it'd be a shame to let you go.

ADELPHI UNIVERSITY *For more information call 1-800 ADELPHI.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aments underground that sprouted from a single spore. It's like the Federal Government sprouting from the Constitutional Convention.

■ Members of the House who seek re-election have reportedly amassed the biggest campaign chests ever, more than $88 million. But what happens when they try to clear the checks?

■ Making the rounds: The women in Arkansas are so fast you have to put a governor on them.

Grading Buchanan

PAT BUCHANAN's presidential campaign has entered its endgame. He will contest some more primaries, and may do well in California. But, having failed to win a single primary or caucus, he has promised to direct his remaining fire at the Democrats like a good Republican. Everything from now on lengthens his mailing lists, nothing more.

Our post-mortem of the Buchanan campaign is inevitably bound up with our analysis of it while it was active. We urged conservatives to cast a tactical vote for Pat Buchanan in New Hampshire and in later primaries, through Michigan. But we also criticized a number of his positions and attitudes, and urged him to take corrective action. How do we grade him?

The answer is at best, mixed. Candidate Buchanan had fewer responsibilities than President Bush, and in some respects he handled them better. He campaigned with spirit and eloquence. But even as George Bush has squandered much of the political legacy of Reaganism, so Buchanan has failed to articulate an attractive and coherent conservatism for the post-Reagan era.

—"Is he or is he not an isolationist?" we asked in the December 16 *NR*. The answer is, Who knows? Candidate Buchanan was willing to commit the American military when constituencies loyal to him were involved, i.e., to save Croatia (a position we shared). But he maintained his opposition to the Gulf War, and he was willing to indulge in bumptious anti-Japanese rhetoric. In short, an isolationism none the better for being erratic and inchoate.

—"Is he or is he not a protectionist?" (*NR*, December 16). The answer here is clearer. Buchanan told Detroit it had to cut union featherbedding. Otherwise, his rhetoric on Japanese auto imports was indistinguishable from Dick Gephardt's. Buchanan also criticized fast-track negotiations with Mexico, making him indistinguishable from Jerry Brown and sharply distinguishable from Ronald Reagan.

—"NATIONAL REVIEW has consistently taken the view that Mr. Buchanan, though not himself anti-Semitic, has nonetheless said things that have given rise to suspicion among reasonable people that he is. We have therefore called on him to reflect on his past statements, to retract the relevant phrases, and to apologize to those he has offended" (*NR*, March 30). Silence. We also said (same editorial) that Buchanan "is entitled to evidence that a retraction and apology would be heeded sympathetically," and there has been precious little of that. But Buchanan is the man who wants to be President; the ball is in his court.

—Ronald Reagan "understood very well that conservatism is a broad church." But "Buchanan regards neoconservatives as domestic liberals and thus heretics" (*NR*, March 2). As a presidential hopeful four years from now, Buchanan must stake claims against potential rivals. That is different from freezing out advocates and idea men who in fact agree with him on many issues. Buchanan has made no gestures—of the kind that Reagan, supremely, and even Bush, occasionally, made—to that part of the right-wing world.

—Last comes spending, an issue which NATIONAL REVIEW did not pose to Buchanan pre-emptively, on the assumption that any challenger to Bush from the right could scarcely flunk it. Buchanan has not flunked it rhetorically, bashing Bush's big spending at every opportunity. But when it came time to list his own cuts, Buchanan picked a few symbolic small potatoes—foreign aid, the National Endowment for the Arts—while standing vocally by budget busters like unemployment insurance and Social Security. In this, as David Frum argued in *The American Spectator*, he was little different from Bush (or, for that matter, from Ronald Reagan). Maybe it is impossible for honest conservatives to run for office in a democratic age. But we note that Buchanan was no more courageous than his peers and less candid than those he labels "big-government conservatives" for the same offense.

Buchanan galvanized a 30 per cent protest vote, and he pulled Bush to the right. Moreover, he accomplished both in a season when other conservatives—Jack Kemp, William Bennett, Pete du Pont—chose to spike their guns. A more effective challenger, however, would have hammered on taxes, quotas, and liberalism's war against America's poor families, without getting bogged down in pre-Fifties side issues. He would have sought to unite a dispirited conservative movement, instead of trying to lead it in new and eccentric directions. In the course of doing so, he might have won more than a third of the vote somewhere. George Bush heads for November only slightly more seasoned than in New Hampshire. If he wins, it will be a victory by default—a victory of management, not of philosophy. There will be a large vacuum at the heart of Republicanism, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Speak French at 4! Spanish at 7!

A language will *never again* be this easy or fun to learn!

The secret? Start early!

Experts in Child Language Development have identified the critical "window of opportunity" — ages 2 through 12 — when children learn languages *naturally*. Even before they learn to read or write! That's why children in other countries begin learning a second language years ahead of ours. Now the world-famous **BBC Language Course for Children** brings the secret of European schools to America for the first time.

Your children are guaranteed to love it! The internationally acclaimed video program uses lively characters (like fuzzy *Muzzy),* engaging stories, and delightful songs to bring language to life. Without study. Without stress. Almost like magic, the proven "see-and-learn, listen-and-learn" technique gets kids absorbed in foreign language in less time than it takes you to read this page.

Give them the advantage in school.

Children growing up with *Muzzy* become good listeners, develop excellent memories, and acquire the vital skills for academic success. When learning is fun from the very start, youngsters enter school with a positive attitude toward education.

Muzzy narrows the gap between our children and their accomplished international peers. Speaking a foreign language **gives boys and girls the edge in school** and opens up career possibilities later on. This could be the most valuable gift you ever give your children.

The best schools start language education early.			
Japan	Age 8	France	Pre-school
Sweden	Age 7	Spain	Pre-school
Austria	Age 8	Canada	Pre-school

Try it Risk-Free for 30 days!

The BBC Language Course for Children starts working the day it arrives. Choose French, Spanish, Italian or German. *Muzzy* starts your child on the new language and *Muzzy Level II* complements and builds by adding hundreds of new words and phrases to your child's vocabulary. Each Course includes *four* full-color animated videocassettes, *two* audiocassettes, Storybook, Activity Book, Parent's Guide plus storage portfolios. You pay just $31.00* per Course for five months (or save $25 by buying both!). If not 100% delighted, return within 30 days for full refund.

If you wait, it will be too late!

Call Toll-Free **1-800-367-4534** today, or mail the attached coupon to Early Advantage, 47 Richards Avenue, Norwalk, Conn. 06857.

*Plus $4.75 one-time shipping and handling charge per course.

THE BBC LANGUAGE COURSE FOR CHILDREN

Early Advantage
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534

Please send me **The BBC Language Course(s) for Children** I have indicated (VHS format only):

(Please check appropriate items.)

LANGUAGE:
☐ French ☐ Spanish
☐ Italian ☐ German

COURSE:
☐ Muzzy ☐ Muzzy Level II
☐ Muzzy *and* Muzzy Level II

Save $25 by ordering Muzzy *and* Muzzy Level II!

Name _____ Please Print Clearly.

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Charge each of five monthly installments to my credit card: $31.95* per installment for each Muzzy or Muzzy Level II course; $58.90* per installment for both courses.

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card No. _____ Exp. date _____

Signature _____ (All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to use my credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my deposit – $50 for each Muzzy or Muzzy Level II course; $100 for both courses. I will pay the balance – $109.75* for each; $194.50* for both – as billed in four monthly installments.

322-8827

*Includes $4.75 shipping/handling per course. Applicable sales tax, if any, will be billed with shipment. Normal delivery on phone orders 4-6 business days.

30-DAY RISK-FREE TRIAL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over the next four years it will be up to the conservative movement to fill it.

Subsidizing Affluence

WRITING in the April issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, Neil Howe and Phillip Longman marvel unhappily at the way federal entitlements flow to the well-to-do. In 1991, for example, "Medicare spent nearly $19 billion subsidizing the health care of households earning $50,000 or more." In that same year the Social Security system "was distributing more than $55 billion a year, or more than a fifth of its benefits, to households with income above $55,000 a year." And—also in 1991—"U.S. households with incomes over $100,000 received, on average, $5,690 worth of federal cash and in-kind benefits, while the corresponding figure for U.S. households with incomes under $10,000 was $5,560."

"Quite simply," Howe and Longman conclude, "if the Federal Government wanted to flatten the nation's income distribution, it would be better to mail all its checks to random addresses."

Howe and Longman proceed to offer measures that would (by their lights) reform the system: raise taxes, close loopholes, and eliminate entitlements for households earning over $30,000. In short, stream-

RIGHT DATA

The BeGATTs

AFTER SIX years of negotiations, the U.S., Germany, and Japan seem close to a Uruguay Round trade agreement. Seven earlier rounds of talks under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have lowered average tariff rates from 40 per cent in 1947 to (roughly) 5 per cent today; world trade volume increased by a factor of 20 during that time.

THE GLOBALIZATION OF THE U.S. ECONOMY
(Billions of 1987 $)

	GDP	Exports	Imports	Foreign Trade as % of GDP
1960	$1,973.2	$88.4	$96.1	9.4
1980	3,776.3	320.5	289.9	16.2
1990	4,884.9	505.7	557.0	21.8
1991	4,849.9	538.9	558.8	22.6

Since 1960, U.S. foreign trade (exports plus imports) has grown by 495 per cent, or more than three times as fast as total GDP. From 1988 to 1991, U.S. GDP rose $129.8 billion in constant dollars. Merchandise exports accounted for 70 per cent of that growth. Had exports not grown in 1991, the economy would have shrank by 1.4 per cent, or twice the actual 0.7 per cent decline.

The Council of Economic Advisors estimates that a successful Uruguay Round would add $1.1 trillion (constant 1989 dollars) to U.S. GDP over the next ten years—an additional $1,600 per year for the average U.S. family of four. The world as a whole would gain more than $5 trillion in additional purchasing power.

Why, then, did the Uruguay Round talks flounder for so long? For one thing, protectionist policies today are far more sophisticated and less obvious than the import tariffs that occupied earlier GATT rounds. Domestic agricultural subsidies, for example, enable Europe's small, inefficient farmers to export a wide range of products to Third World nations. The subsidies offer protection equivalent to that of a 60 per cent import tariff.

Japan's protectionist policies include a discriminatory internal distribution system, regulations that limit the size of retail outlets, and fiscal policies that keep the cost of business capital low. These are not addressed by GATT, although they have been the subject of bilateral talks between the U.S. and Japan.

The U.S. cloaks its protectionism under the guise of unfair-practice laws, permitted under a GATT loophole. Since 1980 Washington has investigated more than 750 charges of dumping and unfair subsidization. These cases triggered major policy decisions, including "voluntary" steel import quotas, import restraints on Canadian lumber, and the U.S.–Japan semiconductor accord. Americans pay $75 billion more a year for goods because of these restraints, a sum equal to 13 per cent of total imports.

The most dangerous obstacle to the GATT trading system are the regional trading blocs coalescing in North America, Europe, and the Pacific rim. Regional free-trade agreements invariably discriminate against products produced outside the region. In 1960, for example, more than 60 per cent of the foreign trade of the 12 EC nations was conducted with nations outside the EC. Today 60 per cent of the EC's foreign trade stays within the EC. EC-92, and the possible inclusion of the former Communist bloc nations will undoubtedly accelerate the trend.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

line redistribution. They seem not to understand that the only reason the country tolerates entitlement programs as much as it does is that so many affluent people can take advantage of them. Restrict them to the poor, and the rich and the middle class would be unified against them.

The authors have inadvertently hit on the secret strength of the welfare state: it has created a whole new class of government dependents. That sturdy self-made Texan H. Ross Perot owes much of his fortune to government contracts and favors, cultivated by seed money to assorted congressmen (including former Speaker of the House Jim Wright). Far more tax dollars go to federal employees and pensioners, including military personnel. Even more go to the affluent households Howe and Longman cite.

The entire system distorts not only the economic market but the political market too, making the "equitable" redistribution of liberal daydreams as hard to effect as the libertarian model most conservatives would prefer. The artificially affluent aren't going to give up their entitlements without a fight. Howe and Longman are correct in arguing that the welfare state can't keep expanding at its present rate; the political market, unlike the economic one, has no self-correcting mechanism, no Invisible Hand to restore equilibrium between supply and demand. Once its prices are fixed, they stay fixed. But that's an argument for scrapping the system, not fine-tuning it.

Yeltsin's Hundred Days

ONE HUNDRED days after democratic Russia took power from the moribund USSR, Boris Yeltsin seems mired in continuing controversy: the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, the plenary session of the Parliament, put Yeltsin under severe pressure in almost all areas of policy. His economic reforms seemed to have brought only hardship; his authoritarian practice of ruling by decree was denounced as a derogation of Parliament's power; his policies toward Ukraine (over such issues as the Black Sea fleet) have seemed insufficiently nationalist. Of course, the Parliament, elected two years ago, contains disproportionate numbers of hard-liners. But Yeltsin has been attacked by some of the most senior of his former allies—by his own vice president, and by the chairman of the Parliament. He has been forced to dismiss from office some of the young economic experts (notably Yegor Gaidar and Gennadi Burbulis) who had been the leading spirits of reform.

Yet the man is resourceful, and resilient. When he removed the young reformers from cabinet posts, he kept them on as key advisors. He promised to get tough with Ukraine, eased credit for state enterprises, and made other gestures to the hard-liners, but, essentially, Yeltsin has stayed the course. He has begun to cut back the colossal budget deficit—slashing defense spending, ending subsidies on most consumer goods. He has opened the economy to a free market and partially freed the ruble; he had begun (before his tactical retreat) to choke off subsidies to the state sector. The Bush Administration's long-awaited program of aid for Russia and the other republics, announced by the President on April 1, comes in time to strengthen Yeltsin's hand.

With Friends like the IMF . . .

ECONOMIC RECOVERY in the former Soviet Union is impossible without deregulated prices, the privatization of state enterprises, and a legal code that clearly defines and protects property rights. None of these changes will work unless the ruble is stabilized, however. Unless Russians know how many U.S. dollars, German Marks, or Japanese yen their rubles are worth, the hoarding, hyperinflation, and capital flight will persist.

It is a pity, therefore, that Russia's precarious situation forced it to enlist the help of the International Monetary Fund. Since the early 1980s the IMF has routinely urged LDCs (Less Developed Countries) to devalue their currency as a means of achieving a trade surplus, in order to pay off their hard-currency debts.

There's only one problem: the devaluation strategy doesn't work. A recent survey of IMF policies by Alan Reynolds of the Hudson Institute documents numerous cases in which devaluations have produced ruinious inflations, higher government budget deficits, and lower levels of real economic activity. The IMF usually compounds the problem by urging governments to close their budget deficits with higher taxes.

There are no great IMF success stories. The list of countries "helped" by the IMF reads like a poverty *Who's Who*. Egypt, India, Sudan, and Yugoslavia have been waiting for the IMF formula to work for

Death by Entitlements

Senator Rudman, whose baleful critiques
Copy Cassandra's when bugging the Greeks,
Quit with a finger still pointing at those
Who (while collectively holding a nose)
Fear for their lives lest constituents turn
Each of them into a funeral urn.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On January 14, 1992 we opened a billion dollar plant in the heart of Detroit. Some say that's stupid.

We say it's responsible.

Our Jefferson North plant is a commitment to the quality of the product and the community.

We could have taken the easy way out, like a lot of companies are doing these days. We could have built our plant in a field outside a small town to keep operating costs down.

Instead, on January 14th we opened one of America's most advanced auto plants in the heart of Detroit. We're keeping thousands of jobs where they're needed most, in the inner city. And providing millions in taxes.

Jefferson is going to show the rest of the industry how to produce world-class quality, and improve the quality of community life. For us, it's a good feeling. For the consumer, it's a good product.

Environmentally, it's one of the cleanest plants in the world.

We think the new Jefferson plant will set new standards of environmental responsibility. We're using breakthrough technology to reduce the amount of waste materials in the earth and air.

Rather than having the overspray from painting cars end up in a landfill, at Jefferson the paint overspray will be collected, recycled and can be used as underbody paint.

We'll save more than 50,000 tons of scrap every year by using returnable shipping containers with foam padding instead of wooden crates and cardboard.

We're using recyclable containers to transport liquids. Not the old 55-gallon steel drums.

Storage tanks for gas, oil and solvents are above ground to prevent contamination of water supplies. And the tanks are placed within concrete barriers.

Our own on-site water treatment facility cleans up 500,000 gallons of plant process water daily.

Chrysler technology isn't just for the cars we build. It's for where we build them.

Jefferson will be as efficient as any import operation in Tennessee or Timbuktu.

We're operating Jefferson on a lean production system. And that means lean in every step of the manufacturing process.

Our people function as a team, not as specialists working separately. Everybody together from the start, solving problems to avoid downtime later on. It makes sense and it saves dollars.

We have 206 robots at Jefferson, doing everything from welding body panels to applying the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

finish paint coat. That sounds like a lot of automation. But compared to most plants, it isn't. We're using just enough of the best technology to build the best quality.

Parts delivery has been revolutionized. Instead of one central delivery point, trucks can pull up to 56 unloading docks placed around the plant. The assembly line is routed to pass by a truck bay when a part is required. Need an engine loaded into a vehicle? The engine will be there when the line rolls around.

American plants usually have several days of parts inventory stacked up. At Jefferson, we want to keep the parts inventory down to eight hours.

Minimizing waste and maximizing efficiency to improve quality. That's the whole idea behind Jefferson.

The most advanced technology, and the safest way to use it.

We believe we have not only the best production equipment at Jefferson, but also the safest working environment.

Management and union safety representatives were involved in the design and building of every work station in the plant. Safety features such as light screens and pressure-sensitive mats have been built into the manufacturing processes. Even the heights of the conveyors were carefully considered.

The goal at Jefferson was to set new standards of worker safety for the whole industry. We think we've done it.

The Jefferson difference: 2,100 experienced pros with almost a million hours of training.

The work force at Jefferson has more car building experience than any other in America, maybe the world. The average length of service for all employees is 26 years. These are the people who played a major part in turning this company around. They know what it takes to build quality.

But with all those years behind them, they still received over 900,000 hours of training. The new machinery in place at Jefferson isn't new to them.

You can buy technology. You can't buy experience, loyalty and pride. Those are the real ingredients of quality.

We built a whole new plant to keep a legend alive: Jeep® Grand Cherokee.

One brand sums up what four-wheel drive is all about: Jeep.® To the industry, it's a sport utility vehicle. To the world, it's a legend.

When you build a legend, you never change it unless you can improve it. The technology and experience at Jefferson will produce the highest quality Jeep® ever: Jeep® Grand Cherokee.

Grand Cherokee is the best-looking, roomiest, most comfortable Jeep® we've ever turned out. The engine is a 4-liter Power Tech Inline 6-cylinder, the most powerful and fuel efficient in its class. Ride and handling are better than ever. Anti-lock brakes are standard. Even an air bag is standard. And like every Jeep,® it goes anywhere.

A lot of people love the Jeep® mystique, but still want the feel of the family car. For them, Jeep® Grand Cherokee is the answer. And we'll build plenty to go around–720 a day when Jefferson is at full capacity.

In a bad economy, Jefferson is good news. For the city, for Chrysler, for the country.

Pick up any newspaper any day and all you read are discouraging words. About the economy in general, and the car business in particular.

Perhaps the prophets of doom should take a hard look at what Chrysler is doing. We're opening a plant, not closing one. We're breathing life into an inner city, not letting one die. We're supporting American workers and what they can produce, not giving up the quality race to Japan or Germany.

In the car business you lead, follow, or get out of the way.

Lee Iacocca

ADVANTAGE: CHRYSLER

CHRYSLER · PLYMOUTH · DODGE · DODGE TRUCKS · JEEP® · EAGLE

Jeep is a registered trademark of Chrysler Corporation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more than thirty years; 23 other nations have been on the IMF dole for more than twenty years.

By comparison, consider South Korea and Japan. Neither of them relied on the IMF. Both ran enormous trade deficits for decades, financing them with inflows of private capital. The foreign debts incurred by Japan and Korea signified strength: investment opportunities in excess of domestic wealth. As income rose, domestic savings grew faster than domestic investment opportunities. Not only was the foreign debt repaid, but each country now invests a large chunk of its savings abroad. Russia had no realistic choice but to join the IMF. But it starts out unburdened with foreign debt, and should do its best to stay out of the IMF's devalue/inflate cycle.

Selling the Rope (Post-Cold-War Version)

SOME MEMBERS of Congress have understandably criticized the Bush Administration for its laxity in permitting sales of militarily usable technology to Saddam Hussein before his invasion of Kuwait. Since the Gulf War, it has become dramatically clear that Saddam built up his arsenal with equipment and know-how obtained either legally or illegally from Western companies.

How inexplicable, therefore, that the Democratic Congress is determined to accelerate foreign arms sales. Much of the problem stems from the fact that the Commerce Department has replaced the Defense Department as the leading agency deciding on what technology can safely be sold. Commerce's main job, of course, is export promotion. Yet HR-3489, a restructuring of our export-control program for the post-cold-war era, would force the "sunset" expiration of *all* national-security export controls six months from now unless the Secretary of *Commerce* provides justifications otherwise.

As the Center for National Security Policy points out, this would be the culmination of Commerce's ascendancy over the Pentagon. It is, in short, a blunder of historic dimensions. If we are truly serious about one of the main strategic threats to the United States in our time—the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of Third World thugs—then the *only* defensible policy is to scrap HR-3489 and restore the Defense Department's role as guardian of our technological secrets.

An Electoral Complication

Politics, like nature,
  Hates a vacuum, so
All that awful hissing's
  Simply Ross Perot
Rushing in where others
  Fail to fill the space
As George Bush stares bug-eyed
  At the Texas race.

W. H. VON DREELE

Stand by Your Man

WINNIE MANDELA, the Hillary Clinton of South Africa, was reported to be separating from her husband of 34 years, ANC President Nelson Mandela. Sources said she would also be leaving the ANC and retiring from politics. That's good news for South Africa.

Her husband's 27-year incarceration is the sort of thing that would put a strain on any marriage. But she, like Mrs. Clinton, had no desire to stay at home baking cookies. She and her phalanx of bodyguard/thugs, known unaffectionately as the "Mandela United Football Club," cut quite a figure as ANC enforcers, to the point where she and a colleague were convicted of kidnapping and assault in connection with the beating to death of a young man who had had the effrontery to resist her authority. She has been free pending appeal. New allegations are surfacing about these activities.

As South Africa heads toward some form of majority-rule government, in which Nelson Mandela may play a significant part, it could be that he's not sure he wants her on the ticket. Who knows? Perhaps Bill Clinton will reach the same conclusion.

Open Door

THIS YEAR'S session of the National People's Congress was the setting for China's Communist leadership to display a united front in support of accelerating market reforms. Opposition to reform seems to have been beaten back decisively, partly by Deng Xiaoping's skillful political maneuvering since Tiananmen Square, and partly by the extraordinary success story of the privatized sectors of China's economy. According to World Bank officials, a decade of Deng reforms has reduced state enterprises' share of Chinese production from 85 per cent in the early 1980s to slightly more than 50 per cent. While billions of dollars are still being wasted on money-losing state enterprises, the dynamism of the freed-up industry and agriculture has given the country a 9 per cent annual growth rate, which doubled living standards over the past decade. Much of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the dynamism is centered in Guangdong Province (a/k/a Canton), in Hong Kong's economic orbit.

China's leaders, of course, continue to keep the lid on political reform. In this, we take comfort from the certain knowledge that a totalitarian political structure cannot long coexist with all the pluralism, spontaneity, outside influence, and empowerment that economic freedom entails. Already the central government has lost much of its control over the dynamic, autonomous provinces. The Bush Administration has a point, that the most subversive thing we can do to China's Neanderthal political system is to maintain—not curtail—China's exposure to the pressures of economic growth and the influences of the outside world.

Sensitivity Fascism

PROHIBITORY speech codes have been thrown out by the courts in Michigan and Wisconsin; nevertheless, some three hundred colleges and universities have adopted roughly similar codes. They usually proscribe not only racial and religious insults but also behavior vaguely defined as giving offense to one or another group.

Thus a distinguished Harvard historian will no longer give his course on slavery because some black students claimed to have been offended. Another Ivy League historian shied away from any mention of Martin Luther King's adulteries, though they were relevant to the historical narrative. A distinguished English professor at the University of Texas was harassed into resigning because he voted against a freshman requirement of race and gender "sensitivity" training.

A faculty member can defy the sensitivity police simply by behaving as if they did not exist, but this takes more grit and orneriness than most professors possess. But some defenses are forming. The Heritage Foundation recently sponsored a useful symposium on these matters, and the National Association of Scholars (Princeton, N.J.) has been expending its membership rapidly; its quarterly organ *Academic Questions* is an indispensable window into dark academic corners. Common sense should prevail, but not soon.

Tick, Tock

CBS'S *60 Minutes* continues to earn its reputation as the supermarket tabloid of television journalism. Its recent exposé on Henry Kissinger reached a new low, the political equivalent of a sighting of Kissinger and Elvis on a UFO. It was an attack on Kissinger's business and consulting activities, with dark hints about his influence on U.S. policy toward China and Iraq.

What *60 Minutes* came up with as "evidence" was a blend of insinuation and incoherence. It charged, for example, that Kissinger's opposition to sanctions against China was inspired by his rather minor business connection with China, but it also charged him with hypocrisy when he came out *for* sanctions (and, indeed, war) against Iraq, with which CBS claimed he also had some business connection. Discounting Mike Wallace's winks and the script's breathless prose, we could detect no credible evidence of anything improper in Kissinger's behavior. His views on human rights, which many criticized in the China case, have been consistent and well known for twenty years. With it there was the implication (quite possibly libelous) that he knowingly connived in helping Iraq finance its military buildup; this was based on factual stretching compounded by wild surmise.

NR has had differences with Kissinger over the years, but we can still spot a cheap shot. No one has been more consistent and forthright in his opinions than Kissinger, and one can surely disagree with them without looking for corrupt economic motives.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Re a phrase you sometimes use, "malum *in* se," the meaning is perfectly clear, but I have always heard, read, and written "malum *per* se," and my Cassell's Latin Dictionary says: "**Per**, prep. with acc. . . . (3) of the means or instrument by which anything is done, *through*, *by*: a) *by means of*: per litteras, Cic.; per se (te, etc.), *by oneself, alone, without help*, Cic., Hor., Liv. . . ."

I shall continue to think "malum *per* se" preferable. Cicero was to Latin what you are to English.

Salve atque vale.

Cordially yours,
Ole-Jacob Hoff
Tjöme, Norway

Dear Mr. Hoff: I picked it up from lawyers, somewhere along the line. "Malum in se . . . Literally 'bad in itself'"—*Amo, Amas, Amat and More—How to Use Latin to Your Own Advantage and to the Astonishment of Others*, by Eugene Ehrlich, introduction by William F. Buckley Jr. (New York, Harper & Row, 1985). Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

It never ceases to amaze me how supposedly educated people are unable to add or multiply. At the moment, the specific example I have in mind is pop-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The $50,000 is nice, but I'd like to get something for my client."

ulation growth. In a column, you alluded to a "hysteria about overpopulation" as a "nightmare" of the environmental lobby.

A reason that politicians and people such as yourself can't comprehend the nightmare is that your vision is quantized in units of four years and limited to a few decades at most. However, life has existed on Earth for at least 3.5 billion years and human beings for a few million years. To advocate an anomalous situation (rapid population growth) that simple mathematics says can be sustained for, at most, another century is not responsible behavior.

Please permit me to outline a *simple* calculation that I do for my classes at UCLA to illustrate this point. If the current rate of growth of world population, about 2 per cent per year, were continued into the year 3400, then *each* person now alive on Earth would have one trillion descendants and the total human population would be about 10^{22}. The year 3400 is substantially less far into the future than we are now from the time when Jesus walked the Earth, a mere drop in the bucket of cosmic time. Broken down into shorter intervals, we are talking about an increase by a factor of 10 in just over a century. So in about the year 2100, at current rates, there would be 50 billion people on Earth. And 500 billion not long after the year 2200.

Apparently you defend population growth as a stimulant to economic growth. Does that mean the faster the better? If 2 per cent per year is good, is 10 per cent better? If so, then we should have 500 billion people on Earth not in 2200 but by about 2040. What about covering all the deserts and oceans with people? That only delays the inevitable, zero population growth, a century at the very most. How about shipping off the extra people to outer space? At current growth rates that would mean 10,000 per hour every single hour of every single day.

The issue is not whether an economy that is stimulated by population growth is good, bad, or indifferent. The above calculations show that growth is impossible except in the very short run. The real issue is what kind of world will the people of the present and next few generations leave for the people and other creatures of the next few millennia. According to my UCLA colleague, Professor Jared Diamond, a very distinguished biologist, the coming century will witness one of the worst extinctions in the entire history of life on Earth. Roughly 15 million species, or one half of the 30 million that are estimated to exist, will become extinct, courtesy entirely of human beings. If yet additional population growth of the sort that you espouse actually occurs, then the extinctions will be even worse. I mention this aspect of far too many people on Earth because I find it particularly depressing. There are many other examples that one could cite, but since this letter is already long enough I will refrain.

Please come to your senses and do not do further disservice to the world by trumpeting population growth as a blessing.

Sincerely,
Ben Zuckerman
Professor of Astronomy, UCLA
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Professor Zuckerman: You are quite right. Population growth is desirable only where population is too scant. The moral questions have to do with what are legitimate and what are wrong means to control population growth. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Will you help me spread a new term?

"Taxual Harassment" is the using of tax dollars to fund sexually explicit material that, if spoken in an office, would constitute sexual harassment.

Sincerely,
John H. Gifford
Lafayette, Calif.

Dear Mr. Buckley:

If Clarence Thomas had described the Mapplethorpe exhibit to Anita Hill, would he be fit to serve on the United States Supreme Court?

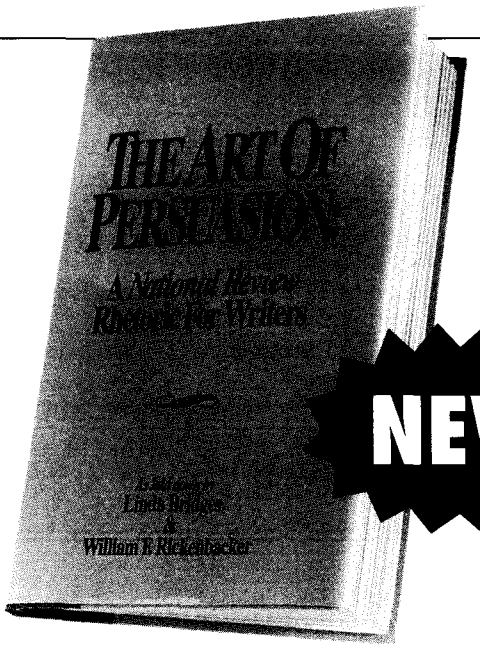
Please advise immediately.

Sincerely,
Michael Antonucci
Carmichael, Calif.

Dear Mr. Antonucci: Certainly not. We don't want depraved people on the Court, only at the National Endowment for the Arts. Cordially, **—WFB**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At Last, Your Guide To Writing With Clarity and Style



NEW

Announcing:

The Art of Persuasion: A National Review Rhetoric for Writers

The new, groundbreaking manual on how to add panache to your prose. Get your first-run edition now directly from NATIONAL REVIEW for just $19.95.

"Readers of this book will improve themselves about that which matters most (Aristotle did define human beings as the language-using animals), and will smile all the while. Furthermore, this wise and funny book may rescue the idea of rhetoric from the faint taste of disreputableness that now attaches to it."

—GEORGE F. WILL

Bridges and Rickenbacker are "free-spirited teachers" who "take us on a romp through Writing 401. This is no primer for beginners. This is the stuff of graduate school, the way graduate school ought to be."

— JAMES J. KILPATRICK

At long last, a *real* guide to writing, from the very magazine that's renowned for its stylishness. Bursting with simple, sensible, concrete techniques to improved writing, **The Art of Persuasion**—"laid down" by *NR*'s own Linda Bridges and William F. Rickenbacker—is definitely something you'll want to have, for yourself and/or that kinsman, friend, student or business associate.

Sure, there are already dozens of manuals that have claimed (for *years*) to teach you how to write. But here at NATIONAL REVIEW, we see what they've wrought: a large percentage of current high school students who can *barely* write letters, a generation of college graduates (and some professors!) whose prose is often impenetrable and torturous (never mind ungrammatical!), etc.

So *NR* decided to create something long overdue: a *useful* writing guide for the intelligent person—who knows the grammatical rules of the language, but who has been henpecked by writing "experts" into hatching dull prose.

The result: **The Art of Persuasion**, an engaging, witty and *useful* manual that shows writers how to grab, hold, surprise, please, amuse and persuade readers, all in six stylishly written chapters (and two information-crammed appendices).

If you write—whether it be books, essays, inter-office memos, or Christmas cards—then **The Art of Persuasion** is a must-have for you. You'll find it practical, and an enjoyable read (and the hardcover edition will make a handsome addition to your book collection).

Order your copy of one of the most important books you'll ever own: simply fill out the handy coupon below and mail it back today. (Better yet, order two copies of **The Art of Persuasion** and save $7 off the full cost.)

☐ **Yes,** send me my copy of **The Art of Persuasion** at the special *NR* price of $19.95. I also enclose $2.00 to cover postage and handling.

☐ **Better yet,** send me *two* copies for the *very* special rate of $35.00 (plus only $2.00 to cover postage and handling). That saves me $7.00 off the full cost.

Mail copies to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

(Canadian and all other foreign orders, please add $4.00 U.S. currency for shipping and handling.)

Mail to: **National Review, Art of Persuasion, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016**

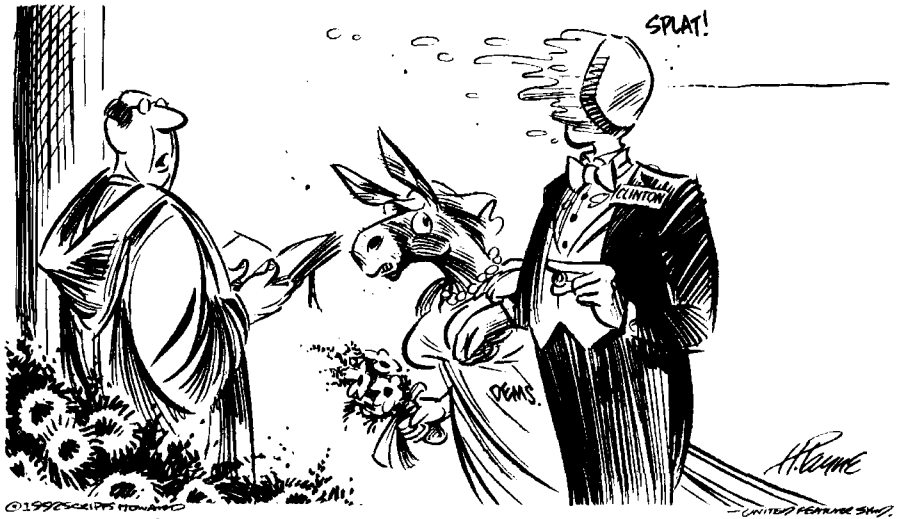
42792

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE SCENE

Mad, Mad Jerry Brown

WILLIAM McGURN



"... AND WHOEVER KNOWS OF ANY REASON WHY THIS MARRIAGE SHOULD NOT... OH, HELLO, MR. BROWN..."

HARLEM

ANYONE who doubts that the Lord works in mysterious ways has not spent time with the Jerry Brown campaign. Today we are at the Convent Avenue Baptist Church, where Brown is hoping to convert a group of ministers to his cause in time for the all-important April 7 primary (which happens to fall on his 54th birthday). It's a nice church, heavy with oaken pews and thick red carpet, and there are about a hundred or so mostly older folk in conservative suits. Outside a number of Cadillacs rest by the curbside, each bearing a sign saying "Clergy."

This is Brown's third public appearance today—he has already come out for the working man at a midtown labor rally and denounced the "money changers in their temples" from the steps of the old Federal Building on Wall Street—and he speaks with the righteousness of the prophet Amos. Brown manages to be greater than the sum of his many parts, here plumping for the flat tax, there excoriating Representative Stephen Solarz (D., N.Y.) for coming out against him, and everywhere attacking Bill Clinton as the embodiment of "the Big Lie." But the main message that this former Jesuit seminarian takes to the Baptists is the same one he repeats everywhere: "This is not a campaign about going along or getting along," he tells them from what is literally a pulpit. "This is not a campaign of insiders. This is a campaign to confront and overcome the corrupt status quo of both political parties that is failing America."

The ministers listen politely, and ask a few questions. He confirms that he has asked one of their co-religionists, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, to serve as his running-mate. He offers a few vague specifics on "retro-fitting" abandoned buildings and improving race relations. And although he has promised the pastor not to mention his opponent here inside the church, he does point out that Arkansas is one of only two states in the Union that does not have a civil-rights law. On the way out, he bumps into the Reverend Al Sharpton. "You're a controversial man," Brown smiles at him.

"So are you," replies Sharpton, before the governor is swept out by the sea of reporters. I ask Reverend Sharpton if he is endorsing Brown, and he says he's endorsing no one. But he calls him "refreshing."

That, of course, is not what Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic Party, is calling him. It's not what most newspapers are calling him—those that didn't completely ignore him until the last couple of weeks. And you can bet it's not what Bill and Hillary Clinton are calling him.

It's easy to write about Jerry Brown the kook, the one newspaperman Mike Royko nicknamed Governor Moonbeam more than a decade ago. There's also plenty of mileage in his contradictions, what Bill Clinton calls Brown's capacity to recreate himself. All this has been written about, earnestly, in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, etc.

And they all miss the point.

Sure, Brown's not your normal, next-door-neighbor type; he would stick out even at a convention of San Francisco Democrats. But at this moment, in the primary season of 1992, he is in a curious way like Pat Buchanan, confounding the experts and connecting with large sectors of the public completely dissatisfied with the status quo. Neither has a real shot at securing the nomination, but each has inflicted severe wounds on his party's front-runner, and both are forcing party chieftains to take notice.

The comparison with Buchanan is particularly apt. Not because their Administrations would ever be confused with each other, but because they are striking the same chords with the public. Both run on about the export of jobs to Japan and Mexico. Both emphasize the word "moral" in their statements. And each is running a campaign that considers Washington one gigantic blob in which both parties collaborate. In Georgia, crowds of middle-class voters cheer for a Buchanan who tells them he intends to "turn this little rebellion into a middle-class revolution that will take this nation and party back from a bipartisan estab-

Mr. McGurn is NR's Washington Bureau Chief.

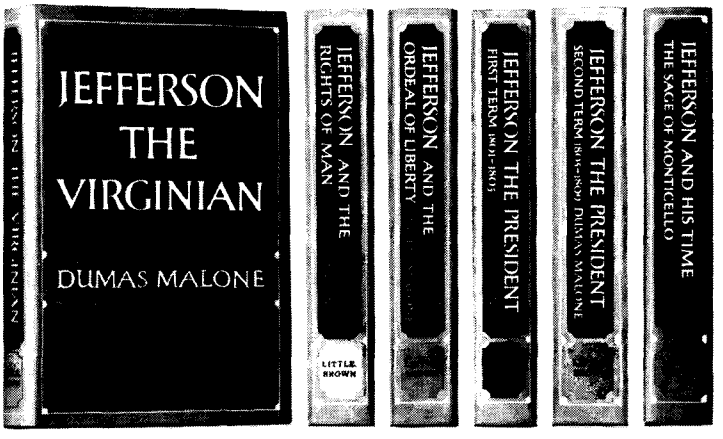
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

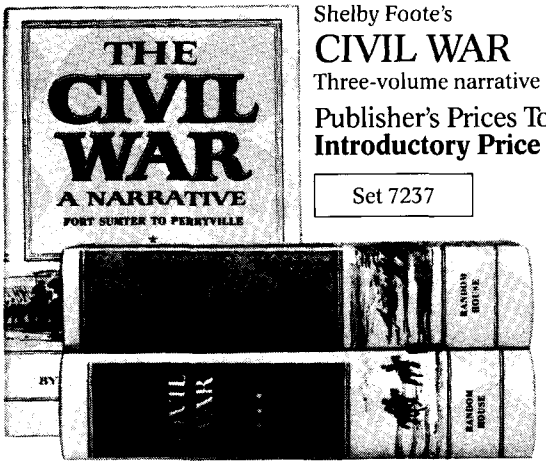
Priceless collections. Big savings.

With no risk, no commitment.

Dumas Malone's
JEFFERSON
Six-volume biography
Publisher's Prices Total $165
Introductory Price $14

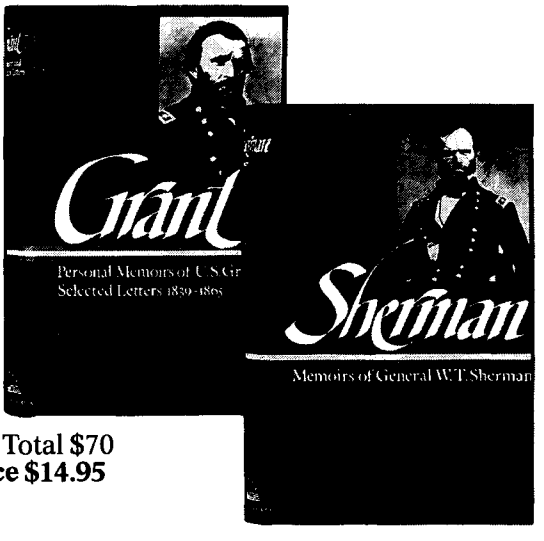
Set 8078





Shelby Foote's
CIVIL WAR
Three-volume narrative
Publisher's Prices Total $105
Introductory Price $15

Set 7237



GRANT/ SHERMAN
Two-volume memoirs set
Publisher's Prices Total $70
Introductory Price $14.95

Set 7039

Landmark works. Hailed by readers, historians and critics alike.

No matter what area of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know offers greater savings–as much as 30% off publishers' list prices.

Your commitment? There is none. Through this special Introductory Offer, you can try History Book Club with no risk, no commitment. You may cancel membership at any time by notifying History Book Club. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

Save as much as 30% with low Members' Prices. You'll enjoy significant savings off the publisher's price on each selection you make from the 150-200 volumes featured in the History Book Club *Review*, along with the new main title, the "Editors' Choice." History Book Club always offers its members well-made, long-lasting editions.

How the Club works. You'll receive our *Review* and a dated Reply Form 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks), plus up to 4 more offers of special selections. If you want the "Editors' Choice," do nothing. It will be sent to you automatically. If you want another book, or no books at all, return the Reply Form by the date specified. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Your HBC guarantee: If you receive an unwanted "Editors' Choice" because you had fewer than 10 days to decide, simply return it and pay nothing.

Try History Book Club–and save! Return the attached coupon today.

History Book Club®
Camp Hill, PA 17012-0001

Please enroll me in History Book Club according to the no-risk, no-commitment terms outlined in the accompanying ad. Send me the multivolume set whose number I have entered in the space below. Bill me at the low Introductory Price, plus shipping and handling.

Set Selection [ ] H123-4-4
2-66

Name_____

Address_____ Apt. #_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

© 1992 History Book Club, Inc. All orders subject to approval. Prices generally higher in Canada.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lishment in Washington." In New York, hospital workers scream "Yes" at the top of their lungs when their union president chants, "The people." "That's exactly what this campaign is about," says Jerry Brown, pushing all the right buttons. "It's 'We, the people,' taking back the country from a group of rip-off artists who don't serve the American people."

Good stuff, that. To be sure, although Brown is definitely not part of the Beltway establishment, he's not exactly St. Francis of Assisi, either. Until very recently, he was chairman of the California Democratic Party, with all its own corruption and gerrymandering. At his New York stops, he speaks glowingly of Governor Mario Cuomo and Mayor David Dinkins. If that's not establishment, I don't know what is. Give him credit for the flat tax; if George Bush defended his own capital-gains tax cut with half the zeal with which Brown defends his flat tax, there wouldn't be a campaign. But the idea being advanced by some conservatives that Brown is the next Jack Kemp is ludicrous. You wouldn't find Kemp saying, "The market is a dictator in the closet that we have to obey, and I say nuts to that." And if Kemp had a black running-mate, it would be Alan Keyes, not Jesse Jackson.

But no matter that Jerry Brown is not all that good at spotting the beam in his own eye. He is doing an excellent job pointing out all the splinters in the Clintons'. And this makes him about as welcome as Banquo's ghost at what they all hoped would be a party feast.

"The level of disgust for traditional politics cannot be overestimated," says Brown's press aide, Mark Nykanen, a former Emmy Award–winning TV reporter. "People feel disfranchised and they are reacting to what they sense is a lackadaisical—almost blind—indifference among politicians for their plight." Jerry Brown may be weird. But what does it say about a party where he's the only one smart enough to pick this up and run with it? □

Divide and Be Conquered

DAVID HIRSCHMANN

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE CROWD waiting to hear former Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega speak at St. Aloysius Church consisted mainly of middle-aged women with short, greying hair, plus a few leftist students. Mr. Ortega was late, and the small crowd was impatient. The woman behind me remarked to her companion: "We'll wait 'til nine. I want to get back in time to watch the Seton Hall [NCAA baksetball] game." Life as a defeated dictator is not easy.

Mr. Ortega was in town as an official member of a Nicaraguan government delegation to the World Bank's Consultative Group. Unlike the rest of the world's newly democratic governments, Nicaragua does not plead for aid as a reward for, or to enable it to undertake, lightning-fast free-market reforms. Nicaragua's case for aid, as delivered by Ortega, is less subtle: Pay up or else.

Fred Carlson

Pay up or else Nicaragua will return to civil war, a civil war that will destabilize Central America once again. That is the last thing anyone in Washington wants. After the sharply divisive battles over aid to the Nicaraguan freedom-fighters during the Reagan years, most members of Congress would rather discuss check bouncing than current events in Nicaragua.

When Ortega did arrive at St. Aloysius he was the best dressed person there. One recalls that, when in Manhattan a few years ago, he purchased $3,000 worth of designer eye-wear with the Nicaraguan Embassy's Diners Club card. Now, he defends his right to keep property he looted as he was leaving the presidency, including 13 homes in Managua, as necessary to ensure that the new government does not confiscate land from poor peasants to give to rich farmers.

In his two-hour-long speech, Ortega assured the faithful that the Sandinistas still controlled the army and the police. He claimed that he had no problem working with the Chamorro government: "If we can get them to do things we would do, better than we would do them ourselves, then let them remain in charge for a long time."

But why does the Chamorro government go along? "We have to treat them not as they treat us but as we wish they treated us," says the head of the Nicaraguan delegation, Antonio Lacayo, President Chamorro's son-in-law and Minister of the Presidency. While Mrs. Chamorro mainly confines herself to ceremonial duties, Lacayo runs the government.

Lacayo is one of the few businessmen who remained in Nicaragua and quietly prospered under the Sandinistas. This alone arouses suspicion from Nicaragua's educated class. He is bright (an engineer educated at Georgia Tech and MIT), charming, and exceedingly self-confident. Lacayo negotiated the transition agreement with the Sandinistas that kept them in charge of the army, the police, and the internal intelligence services.

Lacayo plays to his audience. Meeting with congressional Democrats he claims he is a social democrat. For a luncheon hosted by the Heritage Foundation, he donned a crimson Heritage tie given to him a year ago after a similar luncheon.

Two years ago Lacayo pleaded for patience from those who urged that the Sandinistas be purged from power as quickly as possible. He claimed that the goal of Mrs. Chamorro's strategy was to divide and conquer.

This strategy appears to be working. Prominent Sandinistas are now publicly challenging the Sandinista leaders, opposing their calls for violence, and denouncing their luxurious life-

Mr. Hirschmann is Vice President for Programs at the Washington-based Council for Inter-American Security Foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Real Story of Anita Hill

FREE Report Call 1-800-255-5200

Do you think Anita Hill was telling the whole truth when she testified against Clarence Thomas? If so, you haven't read the March issue of *The American Spectator*, America's most exciting conservative monthly magazine. In a major investigative article, award-winning reporter David Brock reveals what really happened in the Hill/Thomas affair.

- Who was the mastermind behind the plot to sabotage Clarence Thomas?
- What Senate aide spent weekends with Anita Hill at his apartment?
- Who leaked the Anita Hill story to the press?
- Who almost certainly committed perjury in testifying against Thomas?

Now the full story can be yours free, with a subscription to *The American Spectator*. We will send you a free copy of "The Real Anita Hill" by David Brock when you order a one-year (12-issue) subscription.

Isn't it time someone reported the truth about other stories shaping public debate? *The American Spectator* does. Recent articles include:

- Michael Fumento on Magic Johnson and AIDS
- Peter Collier on brownshirt Oliver Stone
- P.J. O'Rourke on America's new enemies, foreign and domestic
- James Ring Adams on the revived Medellin Drug Cartel
- David Brock on James Baker's silly State Department

Don't miss these and other investigative reports ignored by the mainstream media. Subscribe today. We are so convinced that you will enjoy the *Spectator* that we will unconditionally guarantee your satisfaction—if unhappy with the *Spectator* for any reason, simply cancel for a full refund on all unmailed issues.

Send for your trial subscription and *FREE* Anita Hill report today.

Send to: *The American Spectator*, P.O. Box 549, Arlington, Virginia, 22216-0549 *or* call 1-800-255-5200.

YES, please rush me, via first class mail, my free copy of "The Real Anita Hill" by David Brock and enter a one year trial subscription (12 issues) to *The American Spectator* for $35. I understand that if I am unhappy with *The American Spectator* for any reason I may cancel and receive a refund on all unmailed issues.

❒ Payment enclosed ❒ Charge my ❒ Visa ❒ MasterCard

Card #: _____ Exp. Date: _____ Signature: _____

Name: _____ Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ zip code: _____

"The Real Anita Hill" report will be sent via first class mail within five business days. Please allow 6 to 8 weeks for subscription to begin.

Sorry, we can accept only checks and credit card orders for this special offer

25th Anniversary 1967-1992

NRAH2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

styles. Some are calling for democratic reforms within the party; others have left the party altogether. But Mr. Lacayo has abandoned this strategy even as it was bearing fruit.

When I asked him why he brought Mr. Ortega to Washington when he could have brought real Sandinista reformers instead, he explained that he has two choices. Either he can contribute to the divisions among the Sandinistas, or he can help keep them united. If the divisions deepen, the radicals will become marginalized, "and we will have a bunch of little Qaddafis running around kidnapping businessmen."

Around town, Lacayo was all promises. In response to a stern warning, delivered by Secretary Baker in January, that reforms were not moving quickly enough, Lacayo came armed with a plan to reform the police. A source familiar with the plan says it "keeps the same monkeys in different trees"; nothing has been done to bring in new leadership at the top.

At the World Bank, Lacayo pointed out that Nicaragua has controlled runaway inflation and stabilized the currency. He pointed with pride to the diversity of the delegation seated with him, including Ortega, a private businessman, a labor representative, and a congressional member of the UNO coalition (the 14 parties that supported Mrs. Chamorro).

What Lacayo did not say was that the UNO congressman did not have the support of the UNO parties, which, in protest of Ortega's inclusion, had decided *not* to send a representative. Lacayo did not explain that the businessman did not have the support of COSEP, Nicaragua's leading private-sector council. He also did not say that the labor leader represented one of the increasingly violent Sandinista labor unions.

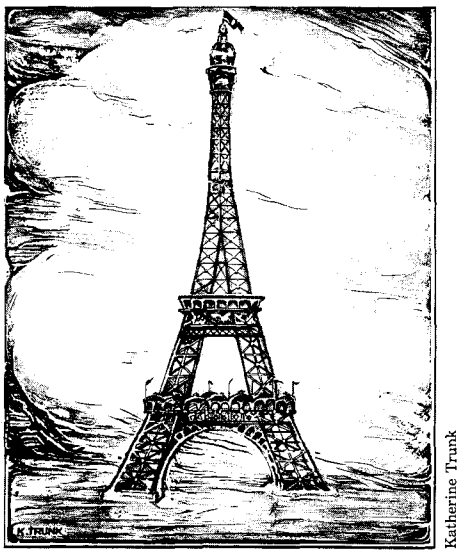
In turn, Lacayo did not really get what he came for. Aside from a reconfirmation of aid already scheduled for this year, all he took home was vague assurances that aid would continue next year. A press statement issued by the World Bank notes that the restitution of private-property rights is "a necessary element in creating an investment climate conducive to attracting needed capital."

Nicaragua is a much freer place than it was under the Sandinistas. However, as National Assembly President Alfredo César, a former Contra leader who is married to Lacayo's sister, explains: "The Sandinistas were a closed, repressive regime. We now have a closed, benevolent regime."

Secretary Baker repeated his forceful reform pleas to Lacayo privately in Washington. However, until Nicaragua's aid is publicly threatened, Lacayo's promises will probably remain only that. Such a step would risk allowing the discredited Sandinistas to rally anti-American sentiments; but without it, real reforms are unlikely. Suspend the aid, and let the Nicaraguans decide whom to blame. □

Cruel March

ROGER KAPLAN



Katherine Trunk

PARIS

MARCH was the cruelest month for the French Socialist Party (PS). "Disaster," and "Bitter Voters Reject PS," said the newspapers, with the characteristic delicacy of French headline-writing, as the PS obtained less than 20 per cent of the vote for the first time since 1971. What these elections showed is that you can change your stripes as much as you want—the PS has even given the free market a lukewarm endorsement—but you will still be judged by your works, and the French voters' evaluation of a decade of Socialist management was harsh indeed.

Francois Mitterrand, the only two-term president in the history of the Fifth Republic, had designated the elections as being of national importance, even though the actual stakes were the 22 regional assemblies and the 95 general assemblies that govern the *départements*. Voters took him to heart. There was no doubt about the disesteem accorded the Socialists, who were beaten even in some of their most solid constituencies.

The debacle was accompanied by a stench that caused even cynical Gallic nostrils to quiver. The Socialists positioned themselves for battle on the high moral ground, repeating tirelessly that the "fascists" were at the gate in the form of the National Front (FN) and that only the Left could stop them. Prime Minister Edith Cresson hammered on the theme that between the parliamentary Right and the extreme Right there were no differences of substance.

Yet in 1981, despite its comfortable majority in the National Assembly, the PS brought Communists into the government of France and kept them there until 1984 (when they resigned of their own will), whereas the Right refused to take a single FN minister when, between 1986 and 1988, it governed with a razor-thin majority. Beset by scandals, and with no progress on the job front, which they have been claiming as a priority for ten years, the Socialists had nothing left in their arsenal but the "united front" against a fascist scarecrow.

Turning smell into stink, after yelling that the parliamentary Right would pave the way for "fascism," ministers in Mme Cresson's own government, in order to gain the presidencies of Bourgogne and Lorraine, accepted the votes of FN deputies, while the Right refused to accept FN votes. Even where the FN is very strong, such as Provence and Languedoc, conservatives like Jean-Claude Gaudin and Jacques Blanc, who know perfectly well that their neighbors who vote FN are not fascists, risked their presidencies by relying on the unpredictable environmentalists.

Mme Cresson compounded the prob-

Mr. Kaplan is researching a book on the European Left.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coming Soon...

WINDFALL
The End of the Affair
by Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

"This is a much more personal Bill Buckley than we have ever seen before, a man who knows the pain and joy of parenthood, and who reveals his feeling for family—and for friends—as never before. Bill knows the art of friendship. As one who has often been the beneficiary of that great gift, I believe that the nation, too, has benefited."

— RONALD REAGAN

"For the first time in my experience, Mr. Buckley's prose does not sound young. Not that it sounds old. Rather, his words are autumnal, even mellow. *WindFall* is a personal, spiritual, and occupational summation in the form of a sea log. Mr. Buckley is famous for his style and intellect, but here are introspection and sensitivity besides. The result is a glimpse into the soul of a very remarkable man and a glimpse at the true source of real conservatism—love, respect, and enjoyment of God's creation. *WindFall* is a sad book by a happy man about the sweetness of life that is inevitably filled with loss and sorrow."

— P. J. O'ROURKE

"I can think of no more exhilarating reading for the years celebrating Columbus's first voyage than this re-navigation in a sailing ketch by that most dedicated and refined of epicureans, Bill Buckley, with his brave and witty crew."

— LOUIS AUCHINCLOSS

"This brave and thrilling ocean passage stands as a resonant metaphor for all our passages: parenthood, friendships, new worlds found, mortality—an arkload of human moments. Buckley's navigation is indeed celestial..."

— D. KEITH MANO

"WindFall is the summa we have been waiting for."

—DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

"I've had the distinct pleasure of reading about this exercise in self-inflicted woe, and the graceful and even fascinating thoughts and recollections it inspired.

— JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

"...explains why some of us continue to hang around this exasperating, seemingly arrogant man: we love him, and the quality of his friendship is unique, described here in the most wonderful way."

—PETER DUCHIN

"It has always bothered me that such a loving, decent man should appear to write from a vantage point of aloofness. No longer. His manner of dealing with his son during a difficult time, and the death of a friend . . . this is the reaL Buckley."

—TAKI

AVAILABLE IN EARLY MAY
FROM RANDOM HOUSE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lem by asking only one of the FN-supported ministers to resign his presidency. The one she did not ask to resign, did. The other one refused but was fired from the Cabinet. The prime minister was then re-elected to her departmental council with less than two hundred votes, while the Right took control of the Socialist department of the Nord for the first time since 1937, as well as other traditional Left bastions such as the Puy-de-Dome and the Dordogne.

In short, if making the FN the issue backfired morally, it backfired politically as well. Although the "breakthrough" promised by FN leader Jean-Marie Le Pen did not occur, the FN advanced everywhere except the rural southwest, and it outpolled the Socialists in three key regions: Ile-de-France (Paris), Provence-Alpes-Côtes-d'Azur, and Alsace.

THE SOCIALISTS, as they approached power in the late Seventies, gave every indication that they were susceptible to the totalitarian temptation in order to "change life," as they said, and to "go from night to day." To their credit, they did not succumb to their feverish utopias, and the question now is why they cannot give the benefit of the doubt to a substantial fraction of their fellow citizens. The National Front, after all, while demonstrably led by xenophobes and anti-Semites, is not a fascist movement. It was altogether in line with the way the Socialists have played the National Front card that their leading candidate in the south (a George Steinbrenner type named Bernard Tapie who owns the Marseille football team) said anybody who votes for the FN is a *salaud* (sonofabitch).

If you add the National Front's votes to those of the Gaullist–Giscardian alliance, France is decisively on the Right. So determined are the Gaullists, however, to escape the merest hint of complicity with the "national Right" (as the FN calls itself) that they sacrificed opportunities for spectacular gains in constituencies where local deals would not have been shameful.

It is understandable that at the top level there can be no agreement between the parliamentary Right and the Front. But these elections showed that the Front's support is not limited to nostalgic veterans of the Algerian War, even less to senile survivors of Marshal Pétain's collaborationist government. The FN won votes in blue-collar districts, among people who work for a living and are worried about taxes and neighborhood security. If conservatives had made a deal with the Front in the Seine-Saint-Denis department, this Communist bastion would have elected itself a conservative government. It would, perforce, include FN councillors; is this worse than aging Stalinists?

While the demonization of the Front slows the political expression of France's majority, making it the issue also clouds the voters' rejection of a ruling party—a rejection on a scale that is unprecedented in twentieth-century French history (perhaps underscoring that socialism is a nineteenth-century idea whose time never came). The use of proportional voting in the regional elections allowed people to say "No" clearly but at the same time to nuance their "Yes."

Former president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing easily won in his own Auvergne against Budget Minister Michel Charasse, and Jacques Chirac's neo-Gaullists held on to the regions under their control (except Burgundy), but overall they lost votes. Nonetheless, the liberal–Gaullist alliance, known as the Union pour la France (UPF), held firm in what the Socialists had turned into a dress rehearsal for next year's parliamentary elections.

Superficially, the green parties were the big winners, moving from the political margins to third place behind the UPF and the PS, one point ahead of the National Front. Though one green faction, known as Génération Ecologie, is led by a former government minister, Brice Lalonde, their Paris standard-bearer, the pediatrician Alexandre Minkowski, attacked the government mercilessly throughout the campaign, holding them responsible for an appalling scandal wherein blood known to be infected with the HIV virus was permitted to go into circulation, causing ravages among the nation's hemophiliacs. The other greens, who are called Greens (*les Verts*), have been even more fastidious in marking themselves off from the democratic Left.

At PS headquarters it lessens the pain to say that voters are disgusted with politics and politicians in general. But this is not so. For weeks, indeed for months, the French were pounded on the head by the political class and its affiliated journalists: These people are so cynical and selfish they are going to stay home and let the National Front win by default. But far from sinking into apolitical cynicism the French people made the best possible use of their ballots, massively punishing a worn party and its frivolous government.

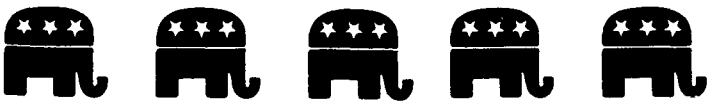
IN FACT, if anyone lacked civic sense, it was Francois Mitterrand, who pushed through legislation creating the proportional voting system. If he persists in introducing proportional voting in the national elections, the PS itself may rebel, even though on the basis of the March voting, the UPF stands to win 421 seats out of 555 in the next Assembly, whereas it would get only 264 in a pure proportional system.

There is now a tangible danger that the unpopular president will find a way to fix the system to prevent a clear majority from emerging out of the next elections, allowing him to hang on to power until the end of his term in 1995. Letting Edith Cresson take the fall for the latest disgrace, and replacing her with the reassuring Economics Minister Pierre Bérégovy, allows Mitterrand to continue his low-order political schemes without precipitating a run on the franc. Mitterrand's roots are in the unstable Fourth Republic that allowed the young head of a masthead political party to get a record number of ministerial jobs in the musical-chair governments of the late Forties and Fifties. He was aptly called *le Florentin*, and it is to this persona that the aging and bitter president, evidently, is returning.

Moreover, by precipitating a round of obsessive political bickering and deal-making, a "Franco-French" mess as they say in Paris, Mitterrand in effect has taken his country out of big-power politics at the very moment when he was saying that his grand legacy to his nation will have been "Europe." It may be doubted whether the Maastricht treaties for European union can be advanced much, let alone ratified, in this situation. The serious issues—such as what sort of relations Europe wants to entertain with Turkey—are being dealt with by Germany, alone. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thanks For The Memories, College Republicans.



Remember your days as a College Republican? The rallies. The national conventions. The campaigns. The elections. The daily battles with the liberal campus newspaper. The trouble you caused the leftists.

Join over 1,000 College Republicans, alumni and our nation's leading Republicans for the College Republican 100th Anniversary. Relive your college days. See old friends. Have fun like you did in college.

Many exciting events will make this a once in a lifetime opportunity. Dance the night away at a Gala Ball at the fashionable French Embassy. Gather with old friends at the 100th Anniversary Banquet. Meet prominent Republican leaders.

Invited speakers include: President and Mrs. Bush, Vice-President and Mrs. Quayle, Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Jack Kemp, Richard Nixon, Rush Limbaugh, Newt Gingrich, Dick Cheney, Norman Schwarzkopf and many more.

College Republican 100th Anniversary
June 25-28, 1992 • Omni Shoreham • Washington DC

For More Information Call (202) 662-1330

1992 College Republican Centennial Celebration Registration Form

Registration includes all banquets, receptions, seminars and materials

☐ Until May 15 $125 ☐ May 16-June 15 $140 ☐ June 16-On Site $175

Name_____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____

Phone (Home)_____(Work)_____

Years of involvement in CRs_____

Titles/Positions held_____

VISA/MC # _____Name (as on card)_____

Exp. Date_____Social Security #_____Birthdate_____

Please make checks payable to: CRNC, 310 First Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 662-1330

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help

© 1992 Mal Ent., Inc.

© Jak, *Evening Standard*, London / Rothco

"We thought we'd have the first ex-KGB general as a doorman!"

Candidate

Image
and charisma
confused the voters' eyes,
till few could tell the good from the
bad guise.

GLORIA A. MAXSON

NOTICE:
IF YOU BECOME LOST IN THIS JUNGLE THE IRS HAS AGREED TO WAIVE LATE FILING PENALTIES PROVIDING YOU NOTIFY THEM IN WRITING.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

F. A. Hayek, R I P

THE ROAD FROM SERFDOM

F. A. Hayek spent years in the wilderness for arguing that socialism was the road, not to prosperity and justice, but to tyranny. He is a prophet now honored.

JOHN GRAY

LONG REGARDED by his colleagues in the economics profession as a doctrinaire or even a crank, Friedrich von Hayek was vindicated in his chief contribution to economic theory, the critique of socialist central planning—vindicated, not by the Nobel Prize in Economics which he received in 1974, but by history itself. Hayek had always argued that socialist central planning would issue in malinvestment and poverty, because the planners face a problem of knowledge about the resources available to them and the costs of their various uses that, in the absence of market pricing, is insoluble. During decades in the wilderness, when his colleagues consistently exaggerated the productivity of Communist economies, Hayek insistently argued that they were bound by their very nature to be wasteful and chaotic. The revelations of *glasnost* and the evidence emerging from German reunification are dramatic corroboration of a truth that Hayek argued for in purely theoretical terms.

Hayek's work in several disciplines amounts to a theory of government, the market economy, and history that is, in its way, as systematic and as ambitious as that of Karl Marx. One of the most central and most original elements in Hayek's system of ideas is his conception of economics itself, and his related conception of the function of market institutions. For Hayek, economics is not a scheme of wealth creation, or *plutology*. Rather, economics is the study of the unplanned coordination of human activities by market processes, whose function is not to allocate scarce resources such as capital or physical plant, but instead to economize on the scarcest resource of all—human knowledge. For Hayek, market institutions are *epistemic devices*—means whereby information that is scattered about society and known in its totality by no one can be used by all by being embodied in prices. It is from this conception of the role of markets that Hayek derives his most powerful argument for the impossibility of successful central planning. Even if the planners are wholly disinterested, they will be unable to collect centrally the information—often ephemeral and local, and sometimes embodied in traditional skills and entrepreneurial perceptions—that they would need to allocate resources and coordinate activities effectively.

Hayek's insight here is truly profound. He grasps that the problem that central-planning institutions cannot solve is not (as his mentor, Ludwig von Mises, supposed) merely a problem of calculation but rather a problem of knowledge. Because the planner cannot know relative costs and scarcities, the planned economy will in fact be chaotic and vastly wasteful. This is the real explanation for the poverty of all socialist and command economies. Their poverty does not flow from the cultural traditions, or lack of work ethic, of their subject peoples; it flows from the fact that planning institutions cannot possess the dispersed information that is expressed in market prices, and so cannot know how to achieve their goals effectively. When centrally planned economies do achieve their goals, as they did at least partly in the Soviet strategic military sector, it is at massive unnecessary cost, or else by the introduction of institutions that simulate market competition. It was Hayek's great achievement to show, against socialist economists such as Oscar Lange and A. P. Lerner, that attempts to simulate market institutions across entire

Mr. Gray is a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and author of Hayek on Liberty. *He wrote this essay during a period of residence as Stranahan Distinguished Research Fellow at the Social Philosophy and Policy Center, Bowling Green, Ohio.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

economies were bound to fail, because of insoluble problems of knowledge—even if he did not go on to show that concentration or guidance of market institutions (as in Japan or South Korea) was bound to be similarly beset by insoluble problems of knowledge.

Hayek's general conception of economic science and his view of markets as epistemic devices are, in all probability, more important and enduring than his contributions to technical economic theory, though the latter have considerable interest in themselves. Perhaps his most important work in technical economics was in the theory of the business cycle, in which recessions were accounted for, not in terms of deficiencies in macroeconomic demand, but by reference to discoordinations at the microeconomic level produced by inflationary monetary policy. Hayek developed this view in lectures given at the London School of Economics, and he turned the lectures into a book, *Prices and Production*, which at once established him as a major economic thinker. His account of recessions as the inevitable aftermath of inflation-induced discoordination had obvious relevance to public policy at the time in Britain, since it implied that measures aimed at restarting the economy, such as public works or deficit financing, could not be expected to work, and government should simply allow the deflationary forces to run their course. This was, of course, the very opposite of the view then being advocated by J. M. Keynes, Hayek's personal friend and intellectual antagonist. When Keynes published his *General Theory* in 1934, it would have been natural for Hayek to subject it to systematic criticism, but on finding that Keynes had altered some of his more technical views, Hayek refrained from attacking it—a serious error of judgment, as he later admitted, since it helped to assure the dominance of Keynesian economics in Britain for decades afterward.

Instead Hayek worked on monetary theory and policy, publishing *Monetary Nationalism and International Stability* in 1937, in which he argued against the regime of freely floating fiat currencies later advocated by Milton Friedman and other members of the Chicago School and in favor of a replacement of the gold standard—whether in the form of fixed exchange rates or an international commodity standard. Hayek's differences with the Chicago School, both methodological and philosophical, were deep, since he rejected the Quantity Theory of Money (except perhaps as a convenient fiction) and held that money could not be adequately measured or controlled. Hayek's skepticism about macroeconomic theory and about econometrics pervades

FRIEDRICH August von Hayek is no longer among us, and I have lost a friend with whom I met every summer for twenty years in Obergurgl, a Tyrolean Alpine village. This most remarkable man descended from a family ennobled at the end of the eighteenth century by the Holy Roman Emperor. Born in Vienna in 1899, he originally wanted to become a biologist (two of his brothers were noted professors of anatomy and chemistry). But, having served as a lieutenant on the Italian front in 1918, he decided not to spend his life with microscopes and test tubes but to concern himself directly with *people*—and thus he became an economist.

He became associated with Ludwig von Mises (18 years his senior), who imbued him with an aversion to anything resembling Marxism. Seeing Austria menaced by both forms of socialism—national and international—Hayek went to England, where from 1931 to 1950 he taught at the London School of Economics. His classic *The Road to Serfdom* made him world famous (and widely hated) and brought him a call to the University of Chicago, where for years he worked with the Committee on Social Thought. Together with Wilhelm Röpke he profoundly influenced Ludwig Erhard; for his share in Germany's "Economic Miracle," he was made a professor at Freiburg University. In 1974 he received the Nobel Prize.

Hayek and Ludwig von Mises, two outstanding fighters for freedom, were the ones who gave its final profile to the Austrian School of Economics, founded by Carl von Menger, Friedrich von Wieser, and Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk. With the exception of Fritz Machlup, the original Austrian School consisted of members of the nobility. When in 1946, Hayek, Mises, and Röpke set out to form an elitist intellectual organization for free enterprise and against socialism, they wanted to call it "The Tocqueville–Acton Society." At the initial meeting in Switzerland an American professor shrilly served an ultimatum: "If you name this society after two Roman Catholic aristocrats, I'll quit!" Whereupon the group was named the Mont Pelerin Society, after a nearby mountain.

Not only was von Hayek a man of encyclopedic knowledge in the entire humanities, he also had a fantastic memory, a wonderful sense of humor, and great courage. An agnostic, he finally came to see the value of religion in the fight against serfdom, and although he proudly rejected the conservative label and emphasized his liberal stand, he was distinctly a man of the Right. He was happy to be received by John Paul II, whom he addressed in Latin; the Pontiff remarked: "Ah, at long last a universally accepted language!"

Hayek battled manfully for his ideas and ideals. In Japan he was nearly deified. Having suffered several severe heart attacks in the course of his life he was attended at his lectures by a Japanese doctor who told him when to stop and asked the audience to wait until he could resume his talk. In his perseverance he resembled the late general secretary of the Mont Pelerin Society, Count Max Thurn, an octogenarian who, literally dying, traveled three hundred miles to speak to an Austrian audience about the privatization of social security in Chile. Like Ludwig von Mises, Hayek was past ninety when he closed his eyes. He who battles for truth and freedom will stay young for a long time and will live forever in our memory. R I P. —ERIK v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's Leftism Revisited *was recently issued by Regnery Gateway.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what is perhaps his masterpiece in economics, *The Pure Theory of Capital*, which was published and went virtually unnoticed in 1941. This book marks the end of Hayek's work in pure economic theory and (at least until the late Seventies and early Eighties) the end of his influence as an economist.

It was after its publication that Hayek began the second phase in his long intellectual career, which culminated in the development of his distinctive ideas of spontaneous social order and cultural evolution. During the Second World War, however, he published the book that at once made him famous (though not, alas, wealthy) and guaranteed that he would spend decades in the wilderness—*The Road to Serfdom*. This small volume (described by the great conservative philosopher Michael Oakeshott as "a brilliant pamphlet") could not have gone further against the spirit of the age, since it argued that government intervention in the market economy, together with welfarist measures such as those proposed in the Beveridge Report, were inherently injurious to individual liberty and, indeed, incipiently totalitarian. Hayek argued powerfully that the freedoms of the market and the classical personal liberties were both factually and logically inseparable, so that the democratic socialist conviction that the economy could be planned without the loss of personal liberties was incoherent, utopian, and dangerous. The effect of the book—praised by Keynes and reviewed not altogether unfavorably by George Orwell—was that Hayek was branded an atavistic reactionary, and his work in social philosophy neglected and derided for decades. It was partly the reaction to his book in Britain that led Hayek to move to the University of Chicago in 1950, and to take up there a chair, not in economics but in social thought—one that was funded not by the university but by a private conservative foundation.

Hayek's years in Chicago were ones of extraordinary creativity. In 1952 he published his treatise on philo-

ANYONE privileged to know Friedrich A. Hayek must have been impressed by his gentleness, charm, and modesty, characteristics that natives of his adopted country like to think the essence of an English gentleman. That did not save him from becoming a bogeyman of what passes as the intellectual Left, who scorned him as a lackey of capitalism and prince of darkness. Such a caricature was provoked by his deliberately polemical *Road to Serfdom*, which he dedicated "To the socialists of all parties." But at least his critics had identified a foe who, perhaps alone this century, ranks with such giants as Smith, Hume, and Tocqueville.

For conservative audiences he liked to refer to the chapter in *Constitution of Liberty* entitled "Why I Am Not a Conservative," and he mocked "the middle way" advocated by Harold Macmillan as "the muddle of the middle." In the same chuckling manner he would draw attention to his hearing aid and explain: "I'm deaf in my left ear, as I believe Marx was in his right."

His true intellectual humility was in keeping with the title of his final, crowning volume, *The Fatal Conceit*, which deplores what he called in his Nobel Prize address "the pretense of knowledge" affected by socialist planners.

A perennial student, he never stopped learning. I recall the almost boyish excitement with which at the age of 77 he invited Arthur Seldon at the Institute of Economic Affairs to publish his radical proposal for competing private currencies. He explained how during a lecture in Switzerland he had suddenly found himself wondering why classical liberals—who grasped above all the scope for abuse of monopoly power—should ever have swallowed the idea that politicians could be trusted with control of national money. Thus was born *The Denationalization of Money*, which my new-found young economist friends in Moscow recently asked for permission (and a subsidy) to translate into Russian.

It was sad that by 1989 the great man had lost touch with affairs and was unable to grasp the magnitude of the counter-revolution in the old USSR, to which, I believe, he and his Mont Pelerin Society contributed more even than President Reagan and star wars.

Since his naturalization in 1938, Hayek was intensely proud of his British citizenship and returned regularly to London and the West Country from retirement in Freiburg. He rejoiced in Margaret Thatcher's determination to curb the legal privileges of trade unions and to make a start on the herculean task of restoring market forces after decades of cumulative state encroachment going back to the "Liberal" government of 1906. When I first introduced him to Mrs. Thatcher, he quietly reduced that formidable lady to unusual periods of silence.

He was almost casual about being summoned from the wilderness to become Nobel Laureate in 1974, partly because he shared the prize with a now forgotten Swedish collectivist, Gunnar Myrdal, and partly because he thought some previous winners had bordered on economic illiteracy. Of all his distinctions, he prized the Companion of Honor conferred by the Queen in 1984. He enjoyed telling that when the usher at Buckingham Palace asked how he should be announced, he startled that solemn dignitary by replying: "Hi-yek, as in high explosive." From that date he shyly let it be known that after a lifetime as "Fritz," since his days at the LSE with the egregious leftist Harold Laski, he preferred to be called "Friedrich," pronounced as in Fred.

I owe him a special debt for my life peerage, conferred by Mrs. Thatcher in recognition of the work of the Institute of Economic Affairs, which he had inspired Sir Antony Fisher to set up in 1957. His watchword was that intellectuals should proclaim a vision of the free society "without regard for what appears today as politically possible." The lesson from Britain—where the Labour Party has dropped socialism and now talks of markets without malignancy—shows that far more has become politically possible than the younger, persecuted Fritz could ever have dared to hope.

—RALPH HARRIS

Lord Harris of High Cross is the former general director of the Institute of Economic Affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sophical psychology, *The Sensory Order*, in which the British empiricist view that our knowledge of the world comes from information we receive via the senses is rejected in favor of a modified Kantian view in which order is imposed on our sensations by innate (but for Hayek alterable by evolution) mental categories. Again in Chicago, Hayek published his masterpiece in political philosophy, *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960), probably the most important statement of liberal doctrine since J. S. Mill's *On Liberty* just over a century earlier.

It is in *The Constitution of Liberty* that intimations first appear of the ideas of spontaneous social order and cultural evolution that were to occupy him for the rest of his life, though in 1952 he had published a book, *The Counter-Revolution of Science*, in which he had criticized the "constructivist rationalism" of positivistic science. By *constructivism* Hayek meant that form of rationalism, inaugurated by Descartes and identified by Hayek with the French Enlightenment and the French Revolution, which stigmatizes as irrational all beliefs and practices that cannot be demonstratively justified, and which aims at a comprehensive reconstruction of social life. As against this rationalism Hayek posits another, that of the Scottish Enlightenment, which takes a humbler view of human reason and acknowledges the wisdom embodied in inherited traditions.

Though he always denied that he was a philosophical conservative, Hayek's view of traditions as repositories of knowledge has much in common with that of Edmund Burke. However, if in Burke this view has a basis in a Christian providentialist interpretation of human history, it is in Hayek given a secular Darwinian statement. It is in *The Constitution of Liberty* that Hayek first gives systematic and unequivocal voice to

AS I WROTE in 1976, "Friedrich Hayek's influence has been tremendous. His work is incorporated in the body of technical economic theory; has had a major influence on economic history, political philosophy, and political science; has affected students of the law, of scientific methodology, and even of psychology. But from the particular perspective of [NATIONAL REVIEW] . . . , all of these are secondary to Hayek's influence in strengthening the moral and intellectual support for a free society" (*Essays on Hayek*, edited by Fritz Machlup). And what was true then is true in even greater measure today, as Eastern Europe so eloquently testifies.

That this should be so is something of a paradox, for Hayek was first, last, and always, a scholar. As Arthur Shenfield wrote in the same volume, "To anyone who knows him . . . Hayek must appear to be the very embodiment of the cloistered scholarly virtues. Calm, reflective, interested only in ideas, and standing apart from the rough and tumble which now characterize the academic world almost as much as the worlds of politics and business, he would be the last person to be found caught up in anything that smacked of a 'movement.'" Yet he unquestionably became the most important intellectual leader of the movement that has produced a major change in the climate of opinion.

Hayek's first major step in that direction was the publication in 1944 of the *Road to Serfdom*. It is a measure of the change in the climate of opinion which he did so much to produce that more than one commercial publisher turned the book down on the grounds that it would not be profitable! A book that became an international best-seller, has been translated into numerous languages, is still in print, and is a current best-seller in Eastern Europe after nearly half a century was therefore published by the University of Chicago Press on the strong recommendation of members of its faculty.

His second major step was taking the initiative to found the Mont Pelerin Society. At the founding meeting of that Society in April 1947, he said: "The basic conviction which has guided me in my efforts [in organizing the conference] is that if the ideals which I believe unite us, and for which, in spite of abuse of the word, there is still no better name than liberal, are to have any chance of revival, a great intellectual task is in the first instance required before we can successfully meet the errors which govern the world today."

The key word is "intellectual." Both in the stimulating, lively, and controversial discussions that followed at that meeting of 39 participants from 10 countries, and in the activities of the Society in subsequent years, Hayek was largely successful in keeping the Society a company of scholars, exchanging and developing their ideas in mutual interaction but not seeking to make propaganda. As I wrote in 1976, he succeeded in keeping the Society "a spiritual fountain of youth, to which we could all repair once a year or so to renew our spirits and faith among a growing company of fellow believers; the one time a year when a generally beleaguered minority could stop looking over their shoulders and let themselves go in a thoroughly supportive environment."

I came to know Hayek best during the 12 years that he taught at the University of Chicago. He was a brilliant conversationalist, and his powerful mind, moral courage, and lucid and always principled exposition helped to broaden and deepen my understanding of the meaning and requisites of a free society. He soon attracted a group of gifted students, whose dissertations he supervised and some of whom he encouraged to found the *New Individualist Review*, a journal that had a considerable influence during its brief career. It served as a training ground for some of the currently most articulate defenders of a free society.

Hayek's contributions continued in one important publication after another, all on a high intellectual plane, devoted to abstract and sometimes abstruse ideas, yet all inspiring active participants in the attempt to reshape society and persuade the "socialists of all parties" to whom Hayek dedicated *The Road to Serfdom* of the error of their ways. We are the poorer for his death, but his ideas will live on and influence the course of events long after the rest of us are gone.

—MILTON FRIEDMAN

Mr. Friedman is a Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this cultural Darwinism. His thesis was that groups or traditions engage in a competition in which those with practices and beliefs which have Darwinian superiority come to prevail over others. Accordingly—as Hayek put it in his last work, *The Fatal Conceit*—there is a kind of natural selection of religions in which those that favor private property and the family, and thereby promote fertility, will supplant those that do not. At times, in *The Constitution of Liberty* and more explicitly in his later works such as the three-volume *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*, Hayek comes close to suggesting that market institutions have an analogous evolutionary advantage over socialist institutions, such that economic freedom is bound to prevail.

It is in *The Constitution of Liberty*, also, that Hayek adumbrates the idea of a spontaneous order in society. This is not only the idea that undesigned institutions and traditions may be bearers of knowledge which their practitioners may not have theorized, but which is available to them for use. It is also the idea that, unless it is stifled by government, human society contains coordinating and equilibrating mechanisms that, left to themselves, will produce an order subtler and stabler than any we can even conceive, let alone impose. Hayek cites the development of the common law and the evolution of language as examples of orders that are products of human action, but not of human design.

Hayek synthesized the central ideas of his thought—of markets as epistemic devices, of cultural evolution, and of a spontaneous social order—to provide a comprehensive theoretical foundation for his ideal of government under the rule of law, devoted to the protection of individual liberty in both the personal and the economic spheres. It is in this attempted synthesis that weaknesses appear. The idea of cultural evolution, or the natural selection of groups by their practices, is very ob-

AS WE look back on the excitement caused by the publication of Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*, we wonder how it could have happened. It is a tribute to him, and to his small book, that we should be able to say this. The principal theses of the book are by now so very well known, even if they are not by any means universally accepted, that they appear almost self-evident. Hayek had always taken scrupulous care to give credit, if it were faintly plausible to do so, to others who articulated ideas before he did, and indeed sometimes, on reading the footnotes to *The Constitution of Liberty*, one almost has the feeling that the book is a collection of after-dinner toasts by Hayek to great philosophers, political thinkers, and economists, from Thales to Ludwig von Mises. But he could not shrug off the credit for having brought much of it together: the integrated perception of the relation between law and justice and liberty. And, in an age swooning with passion for a centralized direction of social happiness and economic plenitude, he gave that squirt of ice water, presaged by the quotation he selected as epigraph to his book, the wary observation of David Hume that "it is seldom that liberty of any kind is lost all at once."

Rather, Hayek explained, it is lost gradually; and it is lost by assigning vague, extra-lawful mandates to men of political authority who take on tasks they cannot be expected to perform without absorbing all the knowledge, values, preferences, and passions of all their fellow men; and this no political authority—indeed, no animate or inanimate body—can do. Accordingly, the political authority has no alternative but to usurp. The necessary result of that usurpation is the corresponding loss in freedom of the body in which the authority previously reposed. Over time, that kind of movement must lead us down the road to serfdom, into that amnestic void toward which, Orwell intuited, evil men were for evil purposes bent on taking us; which void Michael Oakeshott saw us headed toward under the impulse of our own indisposition to bear the heavy responsibilities of freedom.

Professor Hayek gave perhaps the greatest example of his intellectual courage when, in his great book on liberty, he girded his loins, kissed his wife goodbye, made out his will, and came out against the progressive income tax. That was both audacious and exhilarating; and indeed if ever his counsel on the matter were accepted, I have no doubt whatever that any society would benefit comprehensively, and that the tuning fork of justice would resonate with the joy of bells in the morning.

But on the one occasion when he spoke of a "liberal utopia" I doubt that (for once) he weighed his words as cautiously as he tended to do. Without the progressive tax we would be left, for instance, without any guide to how the liberated taxpayer should spend his repatriated surplus; I know of nothing in libertarian literature that is instructive on the point. There is a great and brooding literature that is highly instructive on such moral matters, but it is a literature that speaks with authority to a world endowed with free will. We don't need to be reminded (or do we?) that heaven is not for this, but for another, world; and that final satisfactions are taken from adventures in faith, hope, and charity unrelated to the marketplace. In that other world, I do not hesitate to predict that Friedrich von Hayek will be praised for his contributions to a social philosophy that reflects the dignity of metaphysical man.

Four months ago, Professor Hayek was given the Presidential Medal of Freedom at a ceremony in the White House. His citation says it all: "Friedrich August von Hayek has done more than any thinker of our age to explore the promise and contours of liberty. He grew up in the shadow of Hitler's tyranny and devoted himself at an early age to the nurture of institutions that preserve and expand freedom, the lifeblood of a full life. *The Road to Serfdom* still thrills readers everywhere, and his subsequent works inspire people throughout the world because they possess the vigor and feel of real life—not just the hollow ring of abstract theory. Professor von Hayek has revolutionized the world's intellectual and political life. Future generations will read his works with the same sense of discovery and awe that inspire us today."

—Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scure: what is the unit of cultural evolution, and what is its mechanism? Like Marxism, Hayek's theory of cultural evolution neglects historical contingency. (Religions often die out, not because they are at a Darwinian disadvantage to their rivals, but because state power is deployed to persecute them.) The idea of a spontaneous social order is no less difficult. What are the mechanisms whereby societies reach to equilibrium? And how does Hayek explain the political catastrophes and economic collapses with which human history is littered? In truth, Hayek's attempt at an evolutionary or synthetic philosophy that supports the political ideals of classical liberalism fails, just as Herbert Spencer's did before him. Hayek would have done better to rest his case for limited government on the ethical foundation of respect for human freedom; but a deep-seated ethical skepticism, common among those whose intellects were formed in the Vienna of the first part of this century, induced him instead to seek foundations for liberalism that were, in his own term, "scientistic" in that they gave to science a normative force it does not possess.

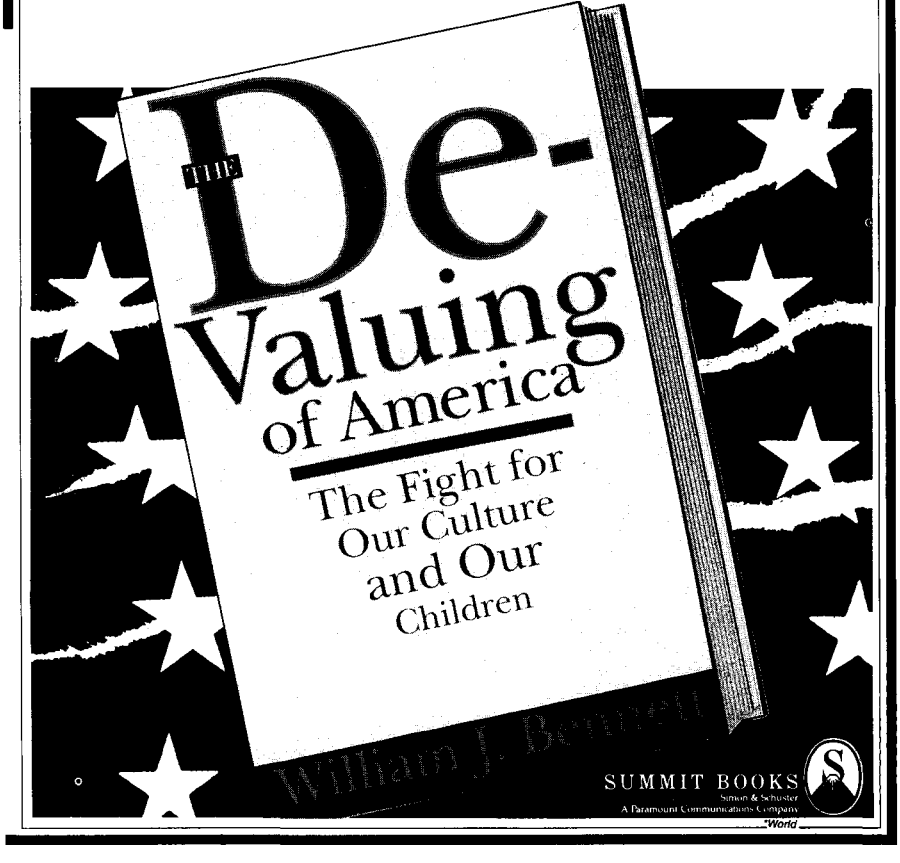
Though it has this scientistic aspect, Hayek's thought remains deeply instructive for conservatives. Hayek recognized that individual liberty presupposes an undergirding framework of traditions and practices that are accepted, not because they satisfy some rationalistic standard of justification, but simply because they are acknowledged to be authoritative. Hayek's version of classical liberalism may be unique in that, unlike virtually all others, it recognizes the *hubris* of reason to be an enemy of freedom. The lesson for conservatives, especially in America, is clear: a free society, if it is also to be stable and successful in renewing itself across the generations, must be in considerable measure tradition-bound. Or, to put the same point in another, Burkean way, assured progress depends upon strong traditions. The importance of these insights to American conservatives is profound, in that the implication of Hayek's thought is that the antinomian tradition of radical libertarianism, with its rationalistic conception of man and society, is inimical to individual liberty over the long run. Accordingly, despite his resistance to being considered a conservative, Hayek's thought counsels us against doctrinal classical liberalism and in favor of a much more traditionalist position.

Even though his system of ideas does not fully cohere, Hayek's thought remains extraordinary in its vitality and cross-disciplinary versatility. He made many contributions to the life of the mind—to intellectual history, for example—which space prevents my discussing. His case for limited government and economic liberty has a certain moral emptiness that in the end disables it. Yet his insight into the nature of market institutions as bearers of knowledge otherwise unavailable to us, and his prediction that attempts at comprehensive central planning would yield only chaos and poverty, illuminates and renders intelligible, as nothing else has, one of the great dramas of the age—the demise of socialism. It is Hayek's achievement, virtually alone, to have anticipated the collapse of socialist institutions, during a period when the spirit of the age cast out into the wilderness any who doubted the superiority of central planning over personal liberty. □

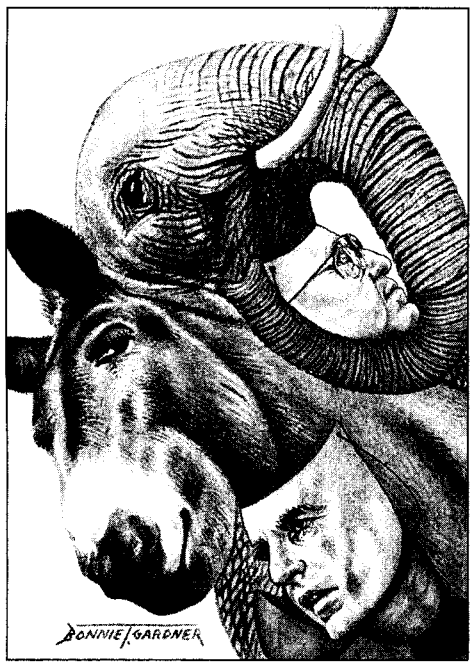
Has the liberal elite sold out the American Dream?

"Bill Bennett is back, and spoiling for a fight"—on issues as vital as the way we raise and teach our kids, support the arts, fight drugs, combat racism, and create a climate in which mainstream American values can once again flourish.

"An informative and courageous foundation for debating the great issues of our time."—*Chicago Sun-Times*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Election '92

THE NEW FACE OF AMERICAN POLITICS

American voters may be mad, but they're not flaky. Nor are they disposed to continue politics as usual. There are signs that the serious candidates are starting to listen to them.

MICHAEL BARONE

WHAT ARE the lessons, so far, from this first presidential election in our history in which a majority of votes will be cast in the suburbs?

The first is a rejection of left-wing economic redistribution. For all the moaning about the economy, America remains an affluent society, and the 1 per cent drop in GNP in George Bush's term has not had the same consequences as the almost 50 per cent drop in GNP in Herbert Hoover's term. Suburbanites are mostly affluent people, though usually not quite as affluent as they'd like to be; they would be fine if, like congressmen, they could write 13 months of checks in every 12-month year. There is a recession, but it is less an income recession than a wealth recession: the drop in incomes has been much smaller than in 1979–83, but the drop in real-estate values—the major source of wealth accumulation for most Americans—has been much sharper in many regions. In income recessions, voters seek income protections, of which liberal Democrats were typically the most generous providers. In this wealth recession, they are seeking longer-term programs to strengthen the economy. Hence the anger at George Bush's budget-summit agreement, which has not seemed to do that, and the appeal of Bill Clinton's and Paul Tsongas's detailed economic plans.

Hence also the almost total lack of support for Tom Harkin's public-works jobs programs and Bob Kerrey's national health insurance. Harkin and Kerrey were not simply beaten; they seemed to have almost no constituency at all. Organized labor remains an important and sometimes noble (think of the AFL-CIO's work in Eastern Europe) interest group. But labor leaders no longer swing many votes. The argument that there is a large constituency for leftish economic redistribution has been refuted about as soundly as any argument in politics ever is.

The Rematch

THE SECOND lesson is the failure once again, after forty years, of the Republican politics of Robert Taft and Thomas Dewey, represented this year by Pat Buchanan and George Bush. Buchanan's robust campaigning made him a receptacle of protests against various Bush policies. But his attempt to move Republican conservatism back to the isolationism, protectionism, and nativism of Taft's time seems not to have caught fire. Currently almost no Republicans holding public office and no other potential 1996 candidate take Buchanan's line on these issues. Certainly Buchanan has inspired some young activists beyond the Beltway. But my guess is that relatively few if any Buchananite Republicans will sit in Congress in 1993 and that Buchanan himself will not be a strong contender in 1996.

As for the Dewey Republicanism of cutting deficits and backing civil-rights laws and other culturally liberal measures, George Bush has had to jettison Richard Darman's budget-summit agreement and his National Endowment for the Arts head, John Frohnmayer. Those decisions were dictated not just by Buchanan but also by the fact that neither the budget summit nor the NEA had the slightest positive political value for Bush in the fall. It will be remembered that the Dewey forces beat the Taft forces in the 1940s. But it should never be forgotten that both these forms of elitist Republicanism (elitism in the sense of trusting experts over the people, as Jeff Bell defines it in his forthcoming book) were losers in three general elections in the 1940s. It is the populist (trusting the people) conservatism of Ronald Reagan, borrowing the cheerfulness and optimism of Franklin D. Roosevelt, that won three general elections in the 1980s.

The third lesson of 1992 is that both parties' likely nominees have been moved by the political process to come up with reform agendas. Bill Clinton concocted his through some combination of calculation and convictions—in this skillful politician they are inter-

Mr. Barone is co-editor of The Almanac of American Politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

woven too tightly to disentangle—last summer and fall, and has stuck to them with some diversions; George Bush has been led toward his by the need to say something in response to Buchanan's campaign which could also work for him in November. Both Bush and Clinton are advancing, in recognizably Republican and Democratic variants, proposals to reform public-sector institutions that are plainly not working well—education, health care, welfare.

They are responding to clear demands in the political marketplace. Over the last dozen or so years, other American institutions—private-sector institutions like heavy manufacturing and transportation, public-sector institutions like the military—have reformed themselves so that they are more efficient and responsive. The finance sector is busy reforming itself right now. Such reform is not painless, but in each case it has been plainly needed and has had benign results. Voters in the suburbs, with their small local governments and large shopping malls, but dependent also on their Social Security entitlements and government subsidies, are ready to consider varying mixes of market and government measures to produce reform. Clinton fitfully and Bush despite visible reluctance are moving to offer such measures. And if neither is acting entirely out of conviction, so what? It only means that both are reading sensitively the signals sent out by the electorate; i.e., that the political market is working.

Lesson four: the Roman-candle candidates will fizzle out. This year has been full of candidates reminiscent of Howard Beale, the anchor in Paddy Chayefsky's *Network* who screamed that he was mad and wasn't going to take it any more. First Pat Buchanan, then Jerry Brown, and now Ross Perot have emerged as the seeming voice of the three-quarters of voters who tell pollsters that the nation is pretty seriously off on the wrong track. Like Roman candles, they make a bright sight in the sky; but they tend to fizzle out. The reason is that they are not constrained, as candidates like Bush and Clinton are, by the need to come up with programs that can win 51 per cent of the votes in a diverse nation. Buchanan's protectionism turns out to be a loser; Jerry Brown's flat tax would almost surely become a liability if voters seriously thought he might win; Ross Perot's support of higher taxes, Social Security cuts, and gun control, and his opposition to the Gulf War, will cause him problems if only because they are out of sync with the image of a Texas billionaire that voters start out with.

My fifth and, so far, final lesson is that there will be a closer tie between presidential and congressional elections than we have seen for some time—certainly since 1980, maybe since 1948 and 1952. Of this George Bush's campaign against Congress is not the cause but an effect. "If we can change the world, we can change America," Bush has been saying. But the idea was not his, but Newt Gingrich's, and as Gingrich recognized, the idea of an incumbent President as a candidate of change is plausible only if he can point to something that has been impeding change. Now that Reagan and Bush have reshaped the Supreme Court, Congress is the only conceivable target.

Fortunately for Republicans, the check-bouncing and other scandals have made Congress a juicy target, even as redistricting and the anti-incumbent trend that first appeared with the October 1990 budget-summit agreement reduced the advantages of incumbency. In addition, congressional Democrats have placed themselves on the short side of 67 to 25 per cent margins on the most visible issues of the past year, the Gulf War and the Clarence Thomas nomination. Republicans could easily gain working control of the House and, given the anti-incumbent mood, could even gain seats in the Senate, where the lineup until now seemed to favor Democrats. In any case it seems quite possible that the voters will finally break the log-jam they have created and give one party or the other—probably, but not definitely, the Republicans—working control of both branches of government. That's why it is important that voters, and politicians, take seriously the reform initiatives advanced by Bush and Clinton and not get transfixed as one Roman candle after another flies up into the sky and then sputters back to earth. □

Billionaire Populism

STRANGE ADVENTURE

Or is it? In presidential poker, Ross Perot holds better cards than most pundits think.

WICK ALLISON

HOW STRANGE is this political year? So strange, says Ed Rollins, that Newt Gingrich could either be elected Speaker of the House or be defeated in his home district. "It's a toss-up."

A strange year is about to get even stranger. On February 20, a billionaire Texas businessman appeared on *The Larry King Show* to complain about the seemingly unbreakable paralysis of the Federal Government. Prodded by the affable Mr. King to do more than complain, the businessman allowed that, oh shucks, if people in all fifty states petitioned to put his name on the ballot, he would run for President as an independent.

Five weeks later a *Los Angeles Times* poll showed that in a three-way race Ross Perot drew 21 per cent of the votes, against 37 per cent for President Bush and 35 per cent for Bill Clinton. John Anderson polled about the same percentage at the same time in 1980, but Anderson had been campaigning for eight months.

At the White House, the alarm bells have not yet gone off. "He's a springtime phenomenon," one Administration official says. "He's an attractive

Mr. Allison, a Contributing Editor of NR, *is the magazine's former Publisher.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unknown. When the people get to know the real Ross Perot, his numbers will plummet into single digits."

Let's call that Scenario #1.

Scenario #2 is what keeps Jim Oberwetter up at night. Oberwetter is chairman of the Bush campaign in Texas. He takes Perot at his word that he will commit $100 million of his own money to the campaign. That's enough to put his vote in the middle teens in Texas. With Perot's vote between 12 and 18 per cent, enough Republican votes would be drawn from Bush to give the state to Clinton or convention compromise Lloyd Bentsen.

A Democrat must carry Texas to win the Presidency, and Perot's entry might allow it. But would Perot want that? It's no secret that he does not like George Bush. Bob Dole doesn't like George Bush either. That doesn't mean he wants to consign his country to the Democrats for four years.

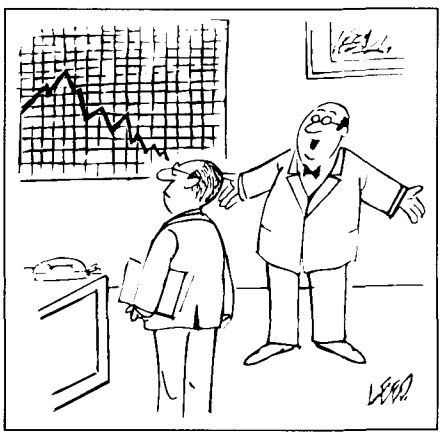
And thus we arrive at Scenario #3, in which the surprising outpouring of support in the last six weeks, especially from retired military men and ex-employees (the two groups Perot admires most), has turned him deadly serious about winning the Presidency. And a serious Ross Perot is a serious presidential contender.

"There is no doubt that we will be on the ballot in all fifty states," says a longtime friend and colleague. "The only way we won't be is if Ross says to stop. But having given his word, there's no way Ross Perot is going to say that." The state with the earliest deadline for petitions is Perot's own Texas (May 11); most states don't require them until late August. That leaves plenty of time to collect free publicity without the pressures of a full-fledged candidacy.

So Perot is running. But is he running to win? "Anybody who underestimates Ross Perot's determination has just made a serious error in judgment," says the same colleague.

It's the money that makes the talk credible. Perot has publicly committed himself to spending $100 million. Texas political observers think he won't hesitate to go to $150 or even $200 million. This is the first time in American history that an independent candidate has been able and willing to match or outspend the political parties in a national contest.

Consider just one arena: television. The Democratic candidate will receive his federal matching funds of approximately $56 million after the party's convention ends on July 16. The Bush–Quayle campaign will receive its after August 20, when the GOP convention concludes. That's when the major spending of the fall campaign will begin. But the heavy buying time for network television is June. McDonald's, General Motors, and Procter & Gamble will be making multimillion-dollar commitments based on viewership projections. By intelligently spending $50 or $60 million in June for the prime October commercial slots, Perot can target his television message to specific groups with high



© Leed / Rothco

"What do you mean we have to trim the fat? We are *the fat!"*

voting patterns and freeze out the competition. The networks are obliged to allow campaigns to advertise, even if it means bumping commercial clients, but they are not obliged to match demographics: the Republicans and Democrats may get the same amount of air time as Perot, but they'll be hard pressed to get the same quality.

Scoresheet

THE Washington political establishment, however, relies on standard assumptions about political behavior. Some of the comments we have heard are valid: for example, questions about Perot's temperament and his large ego. Others invite closer examination.

1. *Businessmen don't know how to play politics.* The normally astute Paul Gigot of the *Wall Street Journal* relies on a normally accurate rule of thumb to label the idea of a Perot Presidency "preposterous." But this betrays a superficial knowledge of Perot's background. First, Perot built his first company, EDS, by winning and keeping state government contracts for data processing. Dealing with legislative committees more interested in pork-barrel spending than computer efficiencies is a rough-and-tumble business. And Perot became a master at it. Second, at a time in the early Seventies when the POW/MIA issue was not even a blip on the public radar screen, Perot conceived of and led a national campaign that brought it to number-one standing among American concerns in the polls. Third, in the early 1980s Perot was asked by then Governor Bill Clements to chart a course of improvement for Texas public schools. He not only brought in the best talent to chart the course, he personally took the lead in passing it through a reluctant legislature and then, when its no-pass–no-play provision became a matter of contention in football-crazy Texas, personally led the campaign to change public opinion in its favor.

2. *An independent candidate has no base of organized support.* In modern politics, where—at least on the Republican side—state parties are mostly empty shells, "organized support" usually means the ability to raise money. Perot makes that point moot. As for volunteers, the GOP's dirty little secret is that it doesn't have many. Those fabled phone banks are professional operations manned by paid workers. The Democrats have labor, but 1980 and 1984 proved labor is not always a reliable weapon.

Does anyone out there sense any enthusiasm for either party? Funds raised for the Democratic primary candidates this year were one-half the amount raised in 1988. The GOP has run into a brick wall with its direct mail: the only fund-raiser it can depend on is the President, and how many rubber chicken dinners can he eat? The fact is, the parties are in disarray.

And here is where business skills do come into play. How would either political party have handled a million unexpected calls? Perot's people had no warning. (One associate says, "I was running on my treadmill watching Ross on *Larry King.* When he made the statement I nearly fell off. I had no idea.") They responded instantly, arranging for the rooms, installing the telephones, writing and printing manuals for the volunteers, and even organizing volunteer training seminars in as many as thirty dif-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ferent cities. The whole idea of "organized support" may get a new definition in the months ahead.

3. *Once he starts to get pinned down on specific issues, Perot will alienate important blocs of voters.* Perot was out of the country at this article's writing and could not be reached for questions about his positions, but there's no doubt that his platform is highly eclectic; it may turn out to be incoherent. But as a White House official who takes Perot more seriously than his colleagues point out, it's an eclecticism that fits with the most successful messages of the primaries' insurgent campaigns: Jerry Brown's opposition to free trade and support of term limits; Pat Buchanan's call for domestic housecleaning and concern about immigration. Perot's vehement opposition to the Gulf War is mitigated by his obvious patriotism, and in turn mitigates any fear—from his expedition to rescue employees in Iran—that he may be a military adventurist. On abortion his pro-choice stance will attract some voters and alienate others. Likewise his stand on taxes: he's known to favor a state income tax for Texas. It's a paradox that the next white knight to conservative voters may be anything but a conservative.

No doubt Perot's "man of the hour" appeal will fade as the arrows of a national campaign begin to fly. But he's betting that an enraged electorate doesn't care as much about a specific platform as it does about honesty, straightforwardness, and a determination to clean house.

4. *Ultimately the American people are too concerned about political stability to trust the government to an iconoclast.* The end of the cold war has had enormous psychological effects, not the least of which may be a new willingness on the part of voters to take a risk. It could be argued that they took such a risk in 1976 with the election of Jimmy Carter (and lived to regret it). That's a good talking point but shouldn't give much comfort to the political establishment, which Carter ran against. He did so in a year of focused anger over Watergate. This is a year of unfocused anger which seems to have reached the same intensity. Voters who have watched Central and Eastern Europeans throw off a system as entrenched as Communism may wonder why Americans have to put up with their corrupt political order.

But can Perot really win? Seriously? Three states will tell the tale.

1. *California.* Bush has never had a good relationship with the state. California's first increase in unemployment since the Great Depression came under Bush. Ronald Reagan's seeming brush-off of Bush in February only added to the demoralization of Bush Republicans. But it's hard to see a Clinton or a Bentsen doing well here, unless the newly refurbished Jerry Brown is on the ticket. Ross Perot is well known and well liked from the days of the POW/MIA campaign; he's an entrepreneur in a state that adores entrepreneurs. And California is a pure media market; party organization is truly meaningless.

2. *Texas.* If Clinton or Brown is the Democratic nominee, it's a two-man race, Perot *v.* Bush, and Perot can win. If Bentsen is the nominee, all bets are off: three Texans make a three-man race.

3. *Florida.* Perot supporters say Florida is where Perot's speeches first ignited the draft movement. Most of Perot's volunteers seem to be retirees; it wouldn't be surprising if the calls they are answering are also from retirees. That doesn't necessarily translate into a victory in Florida, but it gives him a base.

What If?

WHAT IF, for the sake of argument, Perot could carry those three states? Does that make him a serious candidate?

Out of 270 electoral votes needed to win, these three states represent 111. The question seems to answer itself.

If by late September Perot leads in any one of those states, the political establishment will panic. The TV talk shows and op-ed pages will be full of warnings about the election being thrown into the House.

The impact here could be as important as the presidential race. Perot's $100-million expenditure denouncing politics as usual, following on the House banking scandal, could bring about the largest turnover of House seats in American history. And if early polls show a chance of the race going to the House (under the Twentieth Amendment, it is the *new* House that elects the President), some observers think he will call on ex-military officers and business leaders across the country to run for the House in support of his crusade—and even offer financial support to those who do. In other words, Perot is fully capable of turning the hue and cry about the presidential election being thrown into the House in his favor.

The tough questions about this intriguing man and his positions have yet to be asked in depth. When the answers come, they are not likely to please thoughtful conservatives. But the revolutionary thrust he can set in motion will do more to damage an entrenched liberal establishment than anyone since Ronald Reagan.

As for the man himself, a Michigan journalist who covered his bare-knuckles battle to overhaul General Motors says, "If any reporter spends the next six months trying to come up with something on Perot and gets anything, give the guy the Pulitzer Prize. I spent a year and a half and came up with nothing. The other day a fellow reporter asked me if it's possible Ross Perot ever tried drugs like Bill Clinton. I almost fell over laughing. I told my friend that when I asked Perot why he doesn't drink, he said he doesn't drink because his father asked him not to. And I believed him. I think I would believe anything the man told me straight to my face.

"You want the bottom line on Ross Perot? This guy is real."

A Dallas art dealer remembers a call she received from a representative of an English earl in 1984. A reluctant decision had been made to sell one of the few extant copies of *Magna Carta*. The price would be $1.5 million; anybody in Texas a prospective purchaser? The dealer hung up the phone and called Ross Perot. He said he'd think about it. He called back a couple of days later. "No, Margo and I talked about it, and we just couldn't imagine where in the house we could hang something so important."

The dealer took a deep breath. "Ross, this is not something you hang in your house. This is something you endow to the National Archives."

Silence. Then in a resolute voice, "In that case, buy it." Should she try to get the price down? "You don't bargain over something that's priceless," Perot said. "Just buy it."

Washington cynics and political pundits of all stripes and hues, watch out. This guy is real. And he is very, very rich. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Disappearing Common Culture

THE FORBIDDEN TOPIC

Some conservatives don't want to know about the link between multiculturalism and immigration.

LAWRENCE AUSTER

ACROSS the country, America's mainstream identity is being dismantled in the name of "inclusion." Half of last summer's New York City Shakespeare Festival was given over to Spanish and Portuguese translations of Shakespeare. Christmas has been replaced in many schools by a non-denominational Winterfest or by the new African-American holiday Kwanza, while schools in areas with large Hispanic populations celebrate Cinco de Mayo. The exemplary figures of American history have been excised from school textbooks, replaced by obscure minorities and women. Despite massive additions of material on non-Western societies, school texts are still being stridently attacked as "Eurocentric," and much more radical changes are in the works.

Yet even as the multiculturalist revolution rolls through the land, there is still profound disagreement about its meaning, its aims, and most of all its origins. Mainstream media and educationists describe the diversity movement as, in part, an effort to be more inclusive of America's historic minorities; in its larger dimensions, however, they see it as a response to the prodigious changes that are occurring in America's ethnic composition. America is rapidly becoming multiracial and white-minority, and, these observers say, our national identity is changing in response. If that is true—and it is stated or implied in almost every news story on the subject—then it is also true that the massive Third World immigration is itself the ultimate driving force behind multiculturalism.

Virtually alone in resisting these assumptions is the conservative establishment, particularly the neoconservatives. Liberals, who *support* both unrestricted immigration and multiculturalism, do not hesitate to point out a causal link between the two; indeed, they appeal to the inevitability of continued Third World immigration as an unanswerable argument for multiculturalism. Traditional conservatives like Pat Buchanan, who with equal consistency *oppose* both multiculturalism and Third World immigration, also have no difficulty in seeing the causal connection. Neoconservatives, by contrast, have dissociated these two issues, leading the fight against multiculturalism while passionately clinging to the ideal of unrestricted immigration. Their pro-immigration stand, based on a conviction of both its economic necessity and its political morality, compels them to ignore—or ritually dismiss—the mounting evidence that the sea-change in America's ethnic identity is fueling the cultural-diversity movement. To keep immigration from coming under attack, they are forced to hunt for alternative explanations for multiculturalism.

This approach was brought into focus last summer in articles by Irving Kristol in the *Wall Street Journal*, by Nathan Glazer in *The New Republic*, and by Midge Decter in *Commentary*. Despite wide differences on the effects of multiculturalism (Kristol thinks it's a threat to the West equal to Nazism and Stalinism; Glazer thinks it's no big deal), they reached startlingly similar conclusions about its causes.

Multiculturalism, they argued, has essentially nothing to do with America's increasing ethnic diversity; at bottom, it is a desperate, misguided attempt to overcome black educational deficiencies—an effort that radicals have opportunistically seized upon to advance their separatist and anti-West agenda. "Did these black students and their problems not exist, we would hear little of multiculturalism," Irving Kristol declared. Assimilation, he believes, is proceeding apace: "Most Hispanics are behaving very much like the Italians of yesteryear; most Orientals, like the Jews of yesteryear." Nathan Glazer agreed: "[I]t is not the new immigration that is driving the multicultural demands."

Down with Eurocentrism

IRONICALLY, on the same day Irving Kristol was denying that Hispanics are pushing for multiculturalism, the *New York Times* ran this typical item: "Buoyed by a growing population and by a greater presence on local school boards, Hispanic Americans have begun pressing textbook publishers and state education officials to include more about Hispanic contributions in the curriculums of public schools," as well as to correct "stereotypes"—a familiar code for the elimination of Eurocentrism.

A spate of letters to the *Wall Street Journal* protesting Kristol's view offered a revealing glimpse into mainstream opinion on the subject. The chief factor in multiculturalism, wrote Martha Farnsworth Riche of the Population Reference Bureau, is that "racially and ethnically, America's school-age population is increasingly unlike its past generations. . . . This ensures that the school-age population will become even less a product of what we call 'Western civilization' in the future." Multiculturalism, said another correspondent, "is not an attempt to address the social problems of African-Americans. Latin Americans and Asian-Americans have been equally involved." From the cultural Left, Gregory K. Tanaka said that as a result of the increasing proportion of non-whites in America, "it is becoming clear that our Western 'common' culture no longer works. What Mr. Kristol overlooks is that this decline of Westernism leaves us no surviving basis for social order."

While it might be tempting to dismiss these views as multiculturalist propaganda, the clincher is that Nathan Glazer himself, after at first denying that the increase of non-Euro-

Mr. Auster is the author of The Path to National Suicide: An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism, *published by AICF.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pean groups is propelling multiculturalism, turned around and admitted it: "I do not see how school systems with a majority of black *and Latino* students, with black *or Latino* leadership at the top . . . can stand firmly against the multiculturalist thrust . . . *demographic and political pressures change the history that is to be taught*." (Italics added.) It was in this same article that Glazer, to the great consternation of his neoconservative allies, announced his reluctant support for Thomas Sobol's radical curriculum reforms in New York state. That Glazer subscribed to the demographics–multiculturalism link in the very act of surrendering to the new curriculum supports my point that once multiculturalism is accepted, the key role of immigration and ethnic diversity in driving multiculturalism loses its stigma and can be freely acknowledged.

To this, conservatives reply that Glazer is not admitting a forbidden truth but is simply adopting the multiculturalists' fallacious "demographic inevitability" argument. In *The New Criterion*, Heather MacDonald agrees that demographic changes are "fueling" multiculturalism, but criticizes Glazer for "[mistaking] the actual for the inevitable." In other words, neoconservatives will concede that multiculturalism has been adopted because of our society's increasing diversity; but, they insist, this was not "logical." Since immigration is only the "actual" cause and not the "logical" cause, we should leave immigration alone.

One can't help being reminded of the people who say that the failures of Marxism do not prove its *theoretical* unsoundness. Just as one cannot persuade a devoted Marxist that Marxism must lead to tyranny and poverty, one cannot logically demonstrate to an open-borders conservative that precipitately changing an historically European-majority country into a multiracial, white-minority country must result in a breakdown of the common culture. Nevertheless, whether logical or not, that is what is happening.

Here neoconservatives fall back on the familiar argument that it is only the ethnic activists, not the great bulk of the immigrant groups, who are pushing for multiculturalism, a case advanced most recently by Linda Chavez in *Out of the Barrio*. But as Tamar Jacoby has pointed out, Miss Chavez's own evidence suggests quite the opposite conclusion: that Hispanics of all classes are eagerly embracing the call to cultural separatism. According to one study cited by Miss Chavez, a large and rising percentage of Hispanics describe themselves as "Hispanic first/American second"—a preference made clear by the Hispanic majority in San José, California, who angrily protested, as a "symbol of conquest," a statue commemorating the raising of the American flag in California during the Mexican War.

"Nice report, Allingham, but change all the he/she's to she/he's."

But even if it were true that most of the new ethnics didn't "want" multiculturalism, it is undeniable that their swelling numbers empower the group-rights movement by adding to its clientele. Scott McConnell has pointed out in the *New York Post* that as soon as minority immigrants arrive in this country, they become grist for the affirmative-action mill, eligible for an elaborate web of preferences. To imagine that we can turn back the multiculturalist and group-rights ideology by persuasion alone, while continuing the large-scale immigration that feeds that ideology, is like pouring liquor down a man's throat while "advising" him to stay sober.

Apart from ideology, it is important to understand that massive deculturation is occurring as a direct result of the demographic changes themselves. Commenting on the impact of the huge Hispanic presence in California, an Hispanic academic tells the *New York Times*: "What is threatened here is intellectual life, the arts, museums, symphonies. How can you talk about preserving open space and establishing museums with a large undereducated underclass?" The program director of the Brooklyn Academy of Music speaks matter-of-factly about the inevitable displacement of Western music as the Academy gears its programs to the cultural interests and traditions of Brooklyn's intensely heterogeneous, Third World population.

Another consequence of this profound population shift is an intensification of white guilt. Since in our emerging multi-racial society any all-white grouping is increasingly seen as non-representative (and presumptively "racist"), the same assumption gets insensibly projected onto the past. The resulting loss of sympathetic interest in Western historical figures, lore, and achievements creates a ready audience for the multiculturalist rewriting of history. When we can no longer employ traditional reference points such as "our Western heritage" because a critical number of us are no longer from the West; when we cannot speak of "our Founding Fathers" because the expression is considered racially exclusive; when more and more minorities complain that they can't identify with American history because they "don't see people who look like themselves" in that history, then the only practical way to preserve a simulacrum of common identity is to redefine America as a centerless, multicultural society.

Multiculturalism, in sum, is far more than a radical ideology or misconceived educational reform; it is a *mainstream* phenomenon, a systematic dismantling of America's unitary national identity in response to unprecedented ethnic and racial transformation. Admittedly, immigration reform aimed at stabilizing the country's ethnic composition is no panacea; the debunking of multiculturalism must also continue. But if immigration is not cut back, the multiculturalist thrust will be simply unstoppable.

What explains the conservatives' refusal to face the demographic dimensions of multiculturalism? Martha Farnsworth Riche believes the reason is psychological: "The older white academics are facing a shift in power. They're denying that reality by saying, in effect, that minorities 'should' assimilate; they don't want to face the fact that their world is disappearing." More to the point, they are evading the uncomfortable necessity of dealing with the racially charged immigration issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indeed, the conservatives' greatest reason for not allowing a fundamental debate on immigration is their understandable fear of opening up a forum for racist attitudes. But as last year's election in Louisiana suggests, the establishment's refusal to take seriously Middle America's legitimate concerns about cultural displacement only makes it more likely that those concerns will be taken up by extremists. If opposition to racism is not to become a destructive ideological crusade, then racism must be defined according to a norm of racial justice that is rationally achievable in this world. Understood in a non-utopian sense, racial justice means that the majority in a country treats minorities fairly and equally; it does not mean that the majority is required to turn *itself* into a minority. If it does mean the latter, then nation-states, in effect, have no right to preserve their own existence, let alone to control their borders.

The immigration restrictions of the early 1920s, discriminatory though they plainly were (and against the group to which this writer belongs), reduced ethnic hatreds, greatly eased the assimilation of white ethnics, and kept America a culturally unified nation through the mid twentieth century. The falloff in cheap immigrant labor also encouraged capital-intensive investment and spurred the great middle-class economic expansion of the 1920s. It is ironic, therefore, that our open-borders advocates constantly appeal to the turn-of-the-century immigration as a model for us to follow today, since one of the key reasons the earlier immigration turned out, in retrospect, to be such a remarkable success was that it was *halted*. The same caveat applies even more strongly to our present, uncontrolled influx from the Third World. □

One Green World

LEVIATHAN IN RIO

The UN is gearing up for its massive 'Earth Summit' in June. Batten down the hatches.

MURRAY WEIDENBAUM

IT IS IRONIC that, while the world hails the abandonment of totalitarian government in Eastern Europe, an ambitious but overlooked effort is under way to expand governmental power on a global scale. In the guise of cleaning up the environment, the first UN-sponsored "Earth Summit" is scheduled for Rio de Janeiro in June.

At Earth Summit, the various national governments will be asked to endorse both an unprecedented "Earth Charter" and a more operational "Agenda 21." The Earth Charter, we are told, will embody the basic principles which "must govern the economic and environmental behavior of peoples and nations to ensure our common future." Agenda 21—presumably covering the twenty-first century—is "a blueprint for action in all major areas affecting the relationship between the environment and the economy." That covers a lot of terrain, as we will see.

Officially known as the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), the ten-day Earth Summit is expected to be the largest conference ever held. Planners expect anywhere from ten thousand to one hundred thousand participants—official government representatives, supporting technical experts, officials of non-governmental organizations (including ecologists, architects, scientists, business executives, feminists, student leaders, indigenous Indians, social workers, and spiritualists), and, inevitably, large aggregations of media people. It is easy to envision the grandstanding that will take place at such a jamboree. For example, activist organizations hope to get women from the Rio slums to surround the conference hall and bang cooking pots. The cacophony will represent the "reality" that governmental delegates should respond to in their deliberations.

Security is likely to be one of the key problems facing Earth Summit; reportedly, this area will receive 60 per cent of the budget. Logistical arrangements will be a related challenge. Only 12,000 suitable hotel rooms are estimated to be available, and embassies are already battling over who stays at the Sheraton and who gets the Crazy Love Motel. The greens have vetoed the installation of air-conditioning for the conference because the equipment emits CFCs. An "authentic" Indian village is being built for the Indigenous Peoples' Conference. However, the Indians do not desire to stay in the grass huts being built for them, but want the same modern hotel rooms accorded the other participants.

Three of the four preparatory sessions have been held already. The fourth, and presumably crucial, advance meeting is taking place in New York City. (It is heartening to learn that the official United States delegation is considered to be among the best prepared and also the most difficult to negotiate with.) The tone for the deliberations is being set by Maurice Strong, the secretary general of the conference, who warns of "the environmental crisis which threatens the collapse of the planet." His Big Brother attitude is hardly veiled. As he states the matter, "We need to hold governments accountable and they need to be told what we want."

The conference secretariat is proposing an impressive array of global goals: eradicating poverty, reversing the destruction of renewable resources, and changing the system of incentives and penalties that motivate economic behavior. The careful reader will note that environmental concerns are sandwiched in between two proposals for fundamentally changing the distribution of economic resources.

The idea is to make available to developing countries the financial resources and environmentally sound

Mr. Weidenbaum is Director of the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis and author of Small Wars, Big Defense *(Oxford University Press, 1992).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

technologies they require to participate fully in global environmental cooperation. Where are those financial resources and environmentally sound technologies going to come from? The answer provided in the conference materials is clear: from the nations that are already industrialized.

Representatives of developing nations say they will not agree to take the necessary environmental actions unless the developed nations pledge in advance to pay for them. According to Mr. Strong, this will entail "a fundamental change in our economic systems." Thus, he expects the Summit to move environmental issues "into the center of economic policy and decision-making."

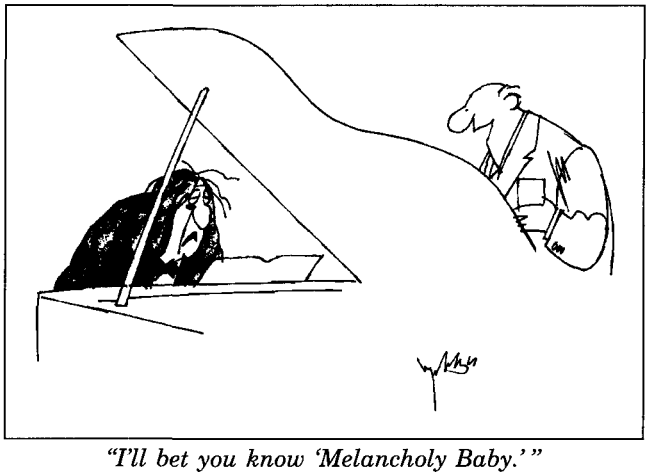
Not surprisingly, the representatives of the industrialized nations have objected to the "blank check" approach. However, as we have seen in the rapid expansion of costly domestic regulation, if a proposal bears the environmental label, it is very difficult to oppose it. Moreover, if and when Earth Summit votes on these measures, the issues will not be settled, as they often were in the successful alliance during the Gulf War, by the Security Council, which is dominated by the major powers. Rather, all nations will participate; St. Kitts' 40,000 people will have the same vote as France's 56 million; Antigua's 64,000, the same as the United States' 250 million.

It is likely that Earth Summit will agree to tap a variety of funding sources to transfer income from the developed to the developing nations. Proposals already identified include the radical notion of charging for the use of the "global commons." Specific examples provided are staggering to anyone concerned with freedom of international commerce: requiring operators of airplanes and ships to pay for the use of the atmosphere and the oceans, for instance.

Unhidden Agenda

AT LEAST the planners of Earth Summit cannot be accused of having a hidden agenda. Their sweeping vision is clearly revealed in their literature. According to the U.S. Citizens Network for Earth Summit, the conference "must also attack poverty, indebtedness, trade and aid, and induce all nations to embrace the concept of 'sustainable living.'" All that is part of an effort "to exercise responsibility for the planet as a whole."

One bias is evident throughout: the downplaying of the need for the poor nations to develop their own economies. Totally ignored are the lessons of the dramatic events in Eastern Europe: governments do not provide the ability to develop backward economies; modern high-tech enterprises do.



"I'll bet you know 'Melancholy Baby.'"

Thus, it is sad to read the writings of the Poverty and Affluence Working Group, a non-governmental participant in Earth Summit:

> People are poor because they have no power. Any new effort to deal with poverty and promote sustainability must focus on empowerment. UNCED must support the development of policies, programs, and processes which enable the poor to become powerful.

This demagogic approach is in striking contrast to the methods used so successfully by Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea in expanding their economies and raising their living standards. Rather than trying to accumulate power in order to take wealth from others, their people have worked hard, saved and invested, and created new wealth.

Many of the assertions in the UN materials rest on a shaky scientific foundation. For example, oil is described as one of the fuels "which irreversibly damage the environment." That unsupported assertion runs counter to all the experience with oil spills around the world; nature typically reasserts itself, sooner or later. The UN materials state as fact that global warming "grew more serious" since 1987, whereas scientific experts disagree among themselves. In pushing for renewable forms of energy, the UN staff writes that "Equipment to harness such energy, once made available to the consumer, can last for years." That may sound impressive, but there is nothing special about it. Equipment for *non*-renewable energy sources lasts for decades. Key considerations, ignored by the conference planners, are the relative costs of the two alternatives as well as the hazards involved in operating the different equipment.

We are told that the charter may encompass the "precautionary principle." That is defined as a commitment to act, before all the scientific proof is available, to prevent worsening environmental conditions. Along these lines, a convention (in UN parlance, that is not a meeting, but a binding international agreement) on global warming is high on the agenda.

Agenda 21 will not be legally binding. Yet, the UN staff notes that "it is expected" that governments adopting it will be highly committed to its implementation. The experience with other "voluntary" UN position statements is enlightening. Although the World Health Organization's guidelines on the marketing of infant formula, for example, were technically not compulsory, a worldwide boycott forced Nestlé and other manufacturers to comply.

Much of the Earth Summit material deals with the relationship between economic development and environmental impact, and especially the notion of "unsustainable" patterns of consumption. Yet, there is nothing to indicate why a given pattern of consumption is "unsustainable." Specifically, little if any attention is given to the role of economics, and especially of the price system, in allocating resources and in avoiding resource depletion. The conference planners seem oblivious to the adjustment process that has successfully worked over the centuries. As specific resources became relatively scarce, their prices rose sharply; enterprises were thereby encouraged to develop alternatives and consumers to shift the pattern of

(Continues on page 56)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Magickal City

RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS

ONE OF the great errors of earlier social theorists was to assume that the city manifests modernity's penchant for rationalization. As Jonathan Raban argued some years ago in *Fat City*, great cities are places of mystery, of magic both playful and deadly. The city is redolent with presences and powers of the past, and intimations of things to come.

The building, where I work, on 20th Street and Fifth Avenue, used to be called the Presbyterian Building, built in the late nineteenth century as headquarters for the northern Presbyterians. My very office was the first headquarters of the National Council of Churches, before this building, along with the Methodist Building across the street, was sold to pay for the erection of 475 Riverside Drive, commonly called the "God Box," but now largely emptied of old-line denominational offices, which have fled to more affordable real estate in places such as Indianapolis and Nashville. Then my office became the national headquarters of the American Civil Liberties Union, before they moved to other quarters sometime in the Seventies. So I know something about spaces pervaded by presences and powers, and you can imagine the complexity of the rites of exorcism employed before our Institute on Religion and Public Life moved into this place in 1989.

Tim Bower

Just around the corner is what claims to be the city's leading occult bookstore, The Magickal Childe. Its windows are filled with Satanic books of great variety, along with demon statues, skulls, tarot cards, and black chalices. By the front door is a large sign depicting a woman of indeterminate identity. The Mother Goddess? The former president of NOW? The feminization of the Devil him/herself? The last seems unlikely, since those who protest the male image of God are notably reticent about extending the protest to the male image of the Devil. Whoever the woman might be, the point of the sign is apparently unequivocal:

IF YOU ARE A BIGOT:
RACIALLY
RELIGIOUSLY
ETHNICALLY
SEXUALLY
OR OTHERWISE. . .
F--- OFF!

Maybe the sign had been there a while, but I first noticed it the day that the *New York Times*'s lead editorial, "The Shame of the Irish," condemned the Ancient Order of Hibernians as religious and sexual bigots for not welcoming the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization to join in the St. Patrick's Day parade. There is probably no connection between the *Times* and The Magickal Childe other than the coincidence of great minds working alike. As I say, the message of the sign is *apparently* unequivocal. But keep in mind that these people claim to be serious minions of the Evil One. S/he is of infinite subtlety. We have it on the best authority that the Devil is the father of lies (or, as they might say, father/mother of lies).

The most obvious reading of the declaration of his/her minions on his/her behalf is that the Devil subscribes to Political Correctness. (Are they still permitted to speak of "black" magic?) But we would not expect the Great Deceiver to be obvious. Knowing that we are likely to oppose what he/she appears to support, might it be that old Nick/Nicole is really against PC? After all, PC has the stated aim of reducing the prejudices that can turn nasty and truly evil. On the other hand, recent experience tells us that PC in fact exacerbates prejudice and unleashes hatreds on a grand scale. This gets very complicated. If he/she can persuade us that he/she is against PC, it follows that we should favor PC. Might we be on the wrong side in this dispute?

My hunch is that the Great Deceiver well knows that we writer types will not be able to resist complexifying the straightforward. Complexification is what thinkers are paid to do. He/She anticipates our double-psychologizing of his/her double-psychologizing. From all of which it is the safer course to draw the conclusion that the sign means what it says: Satan likes PC. After all, we should not discount the possibility that the declared Satanists who run The Magickal Childe just might know something about the politics of Satan. And we have the supporting evidence of the *Times* editorial writers, who, when they manage to rise above silliness, demonstrate an affinity for unmistakable evil. (Was it silliness or evil when last Mother's Day the editorial page ranted against the "patriarchal gods" of the past and urged devotion to the great earth god-

Fr. Neuhaus is NR*'s religion editor, and the editor in chief of* First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dess, Gaia? Or, in the infinite subtlety of things, is silliness the disarming face of evil?)

Magical and mysterious is this city. Only three blocks farther down the street is the Revolutionary Book Store. During this period of mourning for Communisms past, the people there have unfurled a big new banner: MAO MORE THAN EVER! Of course there are readers who will say that the city is neither magical nor mysterious but simply crazy. I suspect they're missing something. □

Workingman's Blues?

RICHARD VIGILANTE

THE overworked American has been a topic of talk shows, women's magazines, and macho business books since the mid Eighties. Whole industries, from gourmet frozen cuisine to Filofax et al., have sprung up to cater to, and flatter, Americans who give all for their jobs. Americans invented the term "workaholic." Meanwhile high Japanese officials have been doing their bit for free trade by going around calling American workers lazy. Well, which is it?

Harvard economist Juliet Schor, who is responsible for the widely quoted claim that Americans are now working one full month more per year than they were twenty years ago, is generally agreed to have proved that we are working too hard. But though Professor Schor has done valuable research, her Marxist and feminist agenda distorts her conclusions and obscures the real sources of the problem.

The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure, by Juliet B. Schor (Basic Books, 247 pp., $21)

She is on strongest ground discussing overwork among American women, particularly married women or mothers, one of the paramount social problems of our time. Married women's participation in the labor force has been growing since 1947, when only 20 per cent of married American women were employed, or looking for work, outside the home; today almost two-thirds are. They are also working harder. By Professor Schor's calculations, female labor-force participants were working 305 more hours per year in 1987 than in 1969; almost a full extra day per week. To compensate they work somewhat fewer hours within the home, but not nearly enough to make up the difference.

The result is that many American women, particularly women with young children, are working brutal schedules. These are the women who raise the kids and bring home the bacon, and "talk about sleep the way a hungry person talks about food."

That a growing portion of the population is by its own account demoralized, "bone-tired," and near collapse, and that their condition has received so little attention from American leaders, is a scandal. That it should be this particular portion of the population is a disaster. For although they do not cut back enough in their home work to give themselves a tolerable schedule, they do cut back significantly, spending much less time with their children or building "the private life" in homes and communities. Research not cited by Professor Schor shows, for example, that working mothers of pre-schoolers spend less than half as much time with their children as non-working mothers. Even the husbands of working mothers spend less time with their children than the husbands of full-time housewives. This is very bad news: child-development research in the last two decades has decisively reinvented the wheel, confirming that the three most harmful environmental factors for young children are relative poverty, lack of parental attention, and stress (e.g., from overwork) in the household.

She is on shakier ground in her claim that men are also working much harder. By her own admission, other economists have reached exactly the opposite conclusion in recent years; the exigencies of trade publishing prevent her from demonstrating why we should prefer her numbers to theirs. Moreover, even Professor Schor shows male paid work increasing by only 98 hours per year since 1969, hardly an earth-shattering change considering that in that period baby-boom males became husbands and fathers. She also claims that men are working much harder at home to make up for the work their working wives can no longer do; again most research contradicts her. She ends up concluding that men's and women's total work hours (job and home) increased by almost exactly the same amount. This unusual conclusion drives the rest of her argument and leads her astray.

For Professor Schor overwork is the natural result of capitalism: as she rightly notes, it is often to an employers' advantage to use fewer workers but make them work longer hours. Today's weak unions, she says, make it easier for employers to get their way. On the demand side, she says, advertising, easy credit, the pernicious abundance of consumer products, and status anxiety have persuaded Americans to buy more than they need. Her answer is a raft of new laws to make employers behave, and a national moral rejection of consumerism.

It is because she insists that overwork is the result of broad capitalist forces that she must argue that men and women are suffering equally. But by doing so, and specifically by taking her eyes off the women and especially mothers, she misses the real story. She has managed, for instance, to write a whole book about overwork without discussing divorce or illegitimacy. Yet the abandonment of mothers and children by fathers is a major factor forcing mothers to increase their work outside the home. Family breakup or the failure to form families largely explains one of the major economic paradoxes of the past twenty years or so: while per-capita income has been rising, household income has been stagnant or falling (depending on whose numbers you believe). The money is being spread out among ever more sub-nuclear families.

As for intact families, their income did rise during the Eighties, but mostly because we sent mothers to work. Male wages declined, as did family income for intact families with sole male bread-winners.

The most urgent domestic priority

Mr. Vigilante, the editorial director of the Center for Social Thought, is at work on a book about the recent strike at the New York Daily News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for government should be raising after-tax family incomes, something government can do at the stroke of a pen—by reducing taxes on families. If the dependent exemptions were worth as much today as they were in 1950, every American child would bring his parents a tax deduction of about $6,000, effectively eliminating federal income taxes for most working-class American families. Reducing Social Security tax rates, which for many families are more burdensome than income taxes, would also help.

Family income in America is too small because government is too big. The problem is rarely stated in those terms today even by conservatives, for the answer though simple is daunting. Unlike tax cuts for the rich and upper middle class, which often produce revenue increases, significant tax cuts for the middle and working class would lose lots of revenue and require large reductions in the federal budget.

The other way to raise family income is to do it pre-tax, i.e., by raising

RIGHT BOOKS

■ THE OPEN SPIGOT: In a snappy little book (*The Culture of Spending: Why Congress Lives Beyond Our Means*, Institute for Contemporary Studies, 225 pp., $24.95), James L. Payne offers a simple theory that challenges a familiar conservative assumption.

Why does Congress spend so much? Most of us think our re-elected representatives calculate the odds and conclude that they'll get more votes on election day if they habitually bribe large blocs of voters with goodies.

Payne says, no, this view gives them too much credit for rationality. What's more, they might actually get more votes if they saved the taxpayers' money. Most voters don't go into the booth with selfish interest in mind anyway.

So how does Payne account for the current level of federal spending? Primitively. As an infant thinks his mother has ceased to exist when she leaves the room, the congressman is virtually unaware of any interests but those he encounters every day. Your congressman doesn't weigh the pros and cons of spending and make a cynical decision in favor of the pros. The fact is that he almost never hears the cons. The model of "balanced" decision-making doesn't apply to him. As Payne says: "The problem is the absence of competing, anti-spending voices in the decision-making system."

There is, for example, a big and active dairy lobby, making a lachrymose case for the plight of the dairy farmer and the wholesomeness of milk, etc. There is no corresponding anti-dairy lobby, pointing out the opportunity costs of dairy price supports and asking why the hell the taxpayer should be forced to cough up subsidies in the first place. (Most congressmen have no conception of opportunity costs. And Payne reckons that "for each dollar the Federal Government recycles through the taxation–subsidy system it wastes more than one additional dollar.")

Sheer conviviality and direct personal contact are important factors in the spending culture. The congressman has lunch with pro-spending lobbyists every day. He almost never has lunch with opponents of spending (who, politically, can hardly be said to exist). The whole situation is terribly one-sided.

Your congressman, in fact, lives in a one-sided world. And he becomes, in consequence, a lopsided being:

> On almost every specific spending program, the institution is overwhelmed by pro-spending persuasion. As a result, congressmen are more than merely persuaded. They do not simply lean toward favoring government programs. In many cases the consequence is much more extreme: conversion! After years and years of being exposed to pro-spending stimuli, the congressman internalizes such an intense commitment to government action that he becomes its leading advocate. The administrators and lobbyists backing the program become assistants in the campaign for federal funds, following the lead of the superlobbyist, the congressman himself.

The congressman "typically acquires a generalized disposition to suppose that *government is the appropriate instrumentality to solve any national problem*. I call this orientation *the presumption of government efficacy*." Payne calls the congressman's conviction that he is doing good (and doing no harm) by spending the taxpayer's money "the philanthropic fallacy."

Though a huge amount of money is being redistributed, most of the transfer is not downward but "lateral" or even "perverse" (as when a young work force is taxed to pay benefits to the wealthier, and whiter, retired population). It figures: you have to be fairly affluent and organized to have a lobby in the first place.

Payne points out that "liberal" Democrats consistently support government spending of all kinds (except military) without respect to the needs of the recipients and beneficiaries. Contrary to media mythology, liberal Democrats are much more inclined than Republicans to support pro-business spending.

So what do we do? Payne defines the problem well: congressmen become advocates for the single party that shows up rather than judges weighing the competing claims of both parties. The obvious solution is to make sure both sides are always heard. Easier said than done: fielding a lobby is expensive, and the generalized interest of the taxpayer is harder to represent than the particularized, pathos-prone special interests. Payne also recommends term limits, which would prevent a congressman from becoming totally assimilated to the Washingtonian culture of spending.

But if it's a *culture*—and the word should be taken seriously—it may be hard to counter with merely mechanical reforms. Taxpayers get mad when congressmen bounce checks and fund dirty pictures, but they don't object to more serious everyday practices. Until they realize that subsidizing Mozart is as improper as subsidizing Mapplethorpe, nothing is likely to improve.

To put it another way: every spending bill is at bottom a threat to jail taxpayers who won't put up the money. The taxing power should therefore be used sparingly and scrupulously. But it's being used with extreme promiscuity. (Mozart is glorious, but it's not anti-Mozartian to say nobody should face a prison term for declining to subsidize a Mozart concert.) We need to challenge the culture of spending until congressional spending is seen as coercive rather than "compassionate," until taxpayers learn to take every exercise of it personally, and until its abuse is a punishable offense.

—JOSEPH SOBRAN

Mr. Sobran, NR's Critic-at-Large, is a columnist with Universal Press Syndicate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wages. The only reliable way to do this over the long term is to raise productivity, by increasing business investment. The biggest contribution government can make here is to increase the rewards of capital by reducing taxes—not only capital-gains taxes, where reductions tend to favor newish growth companies, but taxes on mature industries of the sort that used to provide jobs on which blue-collar men could support families on their wages alone.

Finally, if some future conservative government is feeling really sassy it might officially inquire into a question Professor Schor would never think of mentioning: To what extent are government policies that have pushed women into the work force responsible for the decline of male wages? Has the flood of female workers encouraged American employers to substitute labor for capital, to use men, or women, as machines, slowing or reversing the historical trend that raised the productivity of the American worker and allowed him and his family to join the middle class? It would be nice to know the answer, but political rectitude makes it unlikely that any bright academic will take up the question.

Despite its flaws, this book is a valuable discussion of issues that have been largely ignored. Wrongheaded in places, *The Overworked American* is nevertheless a wake-up call, and well timed at that. □

The Intrepid Traveler

CHRISTOPHER CALDWELL

ROBERT STONE's characters have cleaned up their act in the last two decades. In his National Book Award–winning *Dog Soldiers* (1974), for example, they worried about what routes to take to smuggle heroin out of Vietnam, how many Dilaudids to pop for breakfast, and what kind of automatic weaponry to bring to meet the police. In his newest book, *Outerbridge Reach*, they worry about prep-school tuition, the ozone layer, and how to cover margin when the Dow drops fifty points.

***Outerbridge Reach*, by Robert Stone (Ticknor & Fields, 409 pp., $21.95)**

Jennifer Lawson

Owen Browne (Annapolis '68), Mr. Stone's latest hero, is, as one associate puts it, "clean cut but serious. Serious but not weird." He fought bravely and proudly in Vietnam along with his friends, the "last good children of their time," and made a successful life for himself. He writes ad copy for a yacht company, sails in his free time, knows "Dover Beach" by heart, loves Melville and Elgar, and subscribes to *The American Spectator*.

Yet Browne is weary, on the wagon, and in mid-midlife crisis as the book opens. His marriage is under strain, if solid, and he is beginning to feel something of a nostalgia for Vietnam, where danger imposed a code of conduct and values that was ultimately liberating. Without that imperative, Browne is adrift, and beset by a consuming and nameless dread. Jokes and accidents bring it home: it is a "fear of failing from the inside out."

Matty Hylan, who—like Godot or, more to the point, God—never appears in the book, offers Browne a way out. Hylan, the owner of the yacht company Browne works for, a "millionaire vulgarian in the contemporary mode," is heading toward Chapter 11 by chapter 6, and disappears in a Maxwellian shroud of mystery. When he drops out of a solo around-the-world yacht race, Browne volunteers to replace him.

In a recent interview, Mr. Stone recalled the first sentence of the *Bluejackets' Manual* he used in the Navy in the 1950s: "The sea isn't inherently dangerous, but it is unforgiving." Too unforgiving to be faced by oneself. And Browne, with no company on his voyage but the broadcasts of a blind South African Morse-code hobbyist ("REPEAT ZULU 1800 DESCRIPTION PLAYBOY CENTERFOLD AUGUST 1989 OVER") and an English short-wave evangelist ("Are you a covenant keeper or a covenant breaker? . . . How lovely it would be if all our listeners were covenant keepers"), is out of humanity's reach: he must finish his journey alone.

It's difficult to pull off the story of a solitary journey, and Mr. Stone doesn't quite. The book cleaves uncomfortably in two: one part on the preparations for the race, one on the race itself. His technique of introducing characters obliquely and bringing them together in explosive situations is less dramatic here than in his other books: Browne is too remote for the second half, and the carryings-on of his wife and associates an ocean away seem less a part of his quixotic journey than a running postmodern counterpoint to it. This is not to mention the difficulties inherent in writing a philosophical novel about honor and truth when "the world [is] no longer safe for good manners."

Yet no author writing today has a better understanding of the grey area where human desire and ambition meet ineluctable circumstance, and none has a better claim to be taken seriously as a moralist. Browne's ruminations on board take on a relentless logic, albeit a convoluted, hallucinatory, and suicidal one. His obsession—and the problem for all of Mr. Stone's characters—is how to make moral choices when one is unsure of what one believes, how to act decisively before all the facts are in. It is a particularly American obsession, this craving for codes of conduct. And those familiar with Mr. Stone's other books will recognize it as the goad that pushes his characters into Zen, astrology, Alcoholics Anonymous, auspication, and radical ideologies. It also leads them into rash and blind acts of escapism; not just booze and drugs but also Converse's decision to smuggle heroin in *Dog Soldiers*, and Holliwell's Central

Mr. Caldwell is assistant managing editor of The American Spectator.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American cloak-and-dagger work in *A Flag for Sunrise*.

Even Ron Strickland, the glib documentary filmmaker ready to cut through any dogma and knock anyone off his moral high horse, is blind. Convinced the world is on the make, and intimate with whores and other lowlife, he is unimpressed by the "idealism" of the aid workers who travel to Nicaragua to sleep with Sandinista leaders. He is impatient with his left-wing assistant, who thinks Annapolis looks "fascist." ("I don't find this place particularly fascist. . . . The Guggenheim Museum is fascist. This is about something else.") He sees through the heroism and poetry of Browne's quest to its pathos and escapism. Yet when Strickland falls in love with Browne's wife, Anne, it becomes clear that there is a hole in his heart where something else should be, and that that something else is the kind of "traditional" loyalty in love that the Navy and marriage have taught Browne:

> The trouble was, Strickland decided, that his work was too much like things. People required their illusions. . . . On the other hand, he thought, perhaps that was not the problem. Perhaps the trouble was that things had some aspect he could not perceive. . . . The other aspect of things might be routinely visible to the average a------ in the street.

When Strickland tries to convince Anne to run off with him in her husband's absence, she leans on that "routinely visible aspect" and offers a refusal straight out of Beckett:

> "We have to go on living," Strickland said. "Remember that."
>
> She agreed absolutely. Somehow, she thought, he failed to understand that this was the problem. □

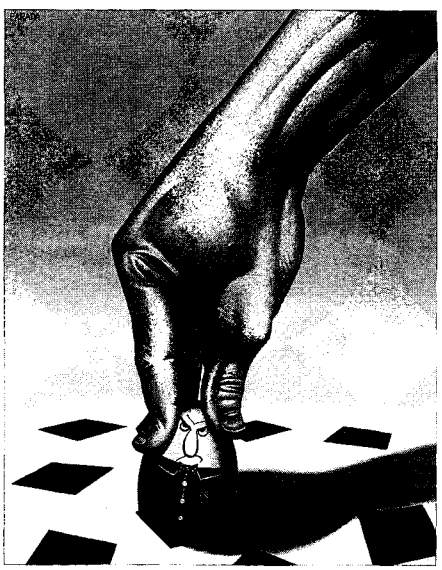
More than Equal

PETER HANNAFORD

The Rise of Radical Egalitarianism, by Aaron Wildavsky (American University Press, 302 pp., $24.95)

IN THE FIRST few pages of his latest book, Aaron Wildavsky tallies the percentage of Americans who belong to oppressed minorities. They add up to 374 per cent, what with consumers, commuters, women, youth, blacks, Indians, prisoners, and quite a few other categories.

Despite such tongue-in-cheek putdowns, Wildavsky does not underestimate the ability of social-engineering radicals to attract widespread support. The rising radical egalitarianism "will lower our standard of living, decrease our health, debase public discourse, lower the quality of public officials, weaken democracy, make people more suspicious of one another and (if it is possible) worse." Having learned nothing from the utter failure and collapse of the world's largest experiment in egalitarianism, the USSR, American radicals are plowing ahead, persuading this or that group they are "victims of oppression" and toiling for the passage of legislation that will institutionalize their victimhood.



Roberto Parada

Wildavsky says there are three major strains of American political culture—hierarchical, individualist, and egalitarian—and contends they provide a better measurement of political philosophy and activity than do the labels "left" and right." In the course of examining these strains, he gives us some fascinating insights into political behavior. For example, he explains the egalitarian's obsession with income and asset redistribution and disdain for economic growth thus: "Abundance increases temptation to differentiate, which interferes with equality." Thus egalitarianism, which relies on collectivism, is bound to clash constantly with individualism, which is competitive by nature.

While individualists are happy to declare their allegiance to their culture, egalitarians, "by and large, do not show their colors." They tend to characterize themselves as being staunch believers in diversity. This explains recent phenomena at many colleges and universities: in the name of diversity, exclusive facilities are created for various minorities, while rules are passed outlawing speech that these groups might consider offensive. The result is anything but diversity. The result in the first instance is separatism and collectivism, and, in the second, rigid conformity (not to mention an assault on the First Amendment).

These are not the only contradictions in egalitarianism. The egalitarian is hostile to hierarchical institutions and authority figures, yet at the same time desires to manipulate them to pass laws that will force others to behave along egalitarian lines. The objective is institutionalization of discrimination in favor of whatever group the egalitarian considers to have been "disadvantaged."

According to Wildavsky, the intense (and often hysterical) campaign of recent years to produce a risk-free society, regardless of cost, had its roots in the campus revolts of the Sixties. "The debate over risk stemming from technology is a referendum on the acceptability of American institutions. The more trust in them, the more risk acceptance; the less trust, the more risk rejection." The perception of danger from technology (on which the risk debate centers) is a function of political culture, "risk acceptance going along with approval of individualistic and hierarchical cultures, and risk aversion with egalitarian opposition to these other cultures on the grounds they are inegalitarian."

One chapter is devoted to an examination of shifts in the cultural orientation of the major political parties, as defined by the parties' most active members. With graphs, charts, and well-reasoned analysis, he shows us

Mr. Hannaford is a public-affairs consultant and co-author of the forthcoming Remembering Reagan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Democratic activists are increasingly egalitarian in outlook and behavior, Republicans more individualist and hierarchical. This presents the Democrats with a dilemma in presidential-election years. The candidates' insistence on egalitarian positions clashes with the dreams of upward mobility of large numbers of nominally Democratic middle-class suburban voters. Only the forces of individualism, reinforced by the protections of hierarchical institutions, can turn these particular dreams into realities.

Americans are quite tolerant of egalitarianism, up to a point. It played an important role in the shaping of the early Republic, which, after all, had freed itself from the stifling rigidity of a monarchy. To this day, Wildavsky says, "arguing against equality in any form makes Americans uncomfortable." He believes that individualism and egalitarianism can and must learn to be "mutually reinforcing" (as they were in the nation's early days), and that the latter-day excesses of egalitarianism (with their large quotient of self-righteousness) need to be tempered to achieve this.

From his vantage point in Berkeley at the University of California, Wildavsky can see egalitarianism at work up close and daily. He has fun at the expense of its humorlessness, but he leaves no doubt that we need to take the threats posed by rampant egalitarianism seriously. □

FILM

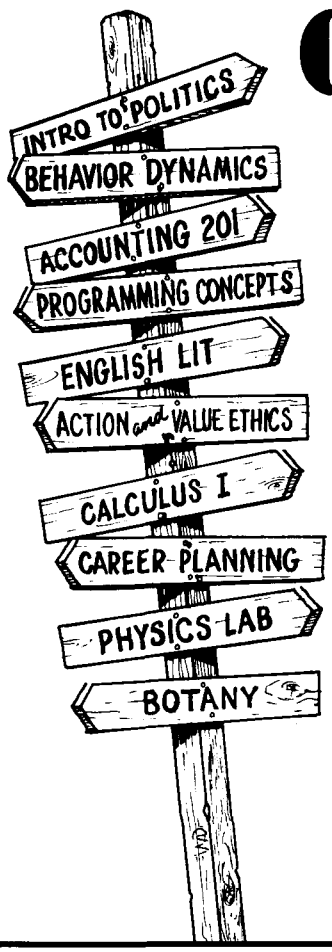
More Basic than Basic

JOHN SIMON

WE WERE teased by the advance reports: parts of ***Basic Instinct*** were so sexually explicit, they had to be cut. Of course, in Europe the film would be shown uncut, as presumably in the cassette version to be eventually released in the U.S.: but here and now puritanism would be served. In such a climate of illogic, it may be too much to expect the movie to make sense.

Basic Instinct was directed by Paul Verhoeven, the Dutch director, whose American hits, *Robocop* and *Total Recall*, I somehow managed to miss. But the two Dutch films of his I did catch were advancedly loony stuff: bizarre, well made, and creepily magnetic. And now he comes on with his first doubly attention-grabbing film: first, because of the sequences cut from it; later, because of the protests it has generated. Two scenes, we gather, had to be trimmed: one in which, during some intensive police questioning, Sharon Stone, wearing the miniest of skirts with no panties, crosses and uncrosses her legs for a voyeuristic camera; and one in which she and Michael Douglas are having no-holds-barred sex. As for the protests, they are from various activists objecting to the film's villains being wholly or partly lesbian.

Mr. Simon, NR's film critic, is also theater critic for New York *magazine.*



COLLEGE: DAY ONE

Chaos at registration. Chaos in the curriculum.

Must it be so?

At Thomas Aquinas College, the year opens with a Mass of the Holy Spirit. Each freshman matriculates in a simple ceremony witnessed by the whole college. He begins the arts and sciences with their natural beginnings: theology with the Bible, mathematics with Euclid's *Elements*, philosophy with Plato's *Dialogues*. In the first evening seminar, he wrestles with the opening of the first great epic, Homer's *Iliad*.

He has found an ordered course of studies in the liberal arts and sciences, a course that moves deliberately, though demandingly, from these starting points on through the works of Aristotle, Dante, Newton, and Kant down to Keynes, Einstein, and T.S. Eliot.

This is education on a human scale . . . small classes in a small college. Yet it is startlingly ambitious. For here, at Thomas Aquinas College, we introduce the eager mind to the best that has been thought about the world, mankind, and the God Who made them.

Come and see this college in action. You won't be lost in the crowd.

For information or to arrange a visit, CALL TOLL FREE: 1-800-634-9797. From Canada, call collect: 805/525-4417.

Or write:

Thomas J. Susanka
Director of Admissions
Box 105
THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE
10000 N. Ojai Rd.
Santa Paula, CA 93060

Financial Aid Program ● Bachelor of Arts degree
Coeducational ● Fully accredited, Western Association of Schools & Colleges

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A third point of interest is that the outwardly and inwardly unprepossessing scenarist of *Basic Instinct*, Joe Eszterhas, was paid three cool mil'ions (or can only one million be cool?) for his hot screenplay, whose chief distinctions are sex, ranging from innuendo to obscenity, crammed into every possible line or situation, and total incoherence. Whereas the former is considered a plus, the latter is, in today's world, of no consequence. So the movie glides along with maniacal skill unconcerned with logic, consistent characters, or minimal verisimilitude.

Nick Curran (Michael Douglas) is a San Francisco police detective who has been jinxed lately. He has had problems with drink, drugs, a broken marriage, and a few accidental killings in the line of duty that have earned him the sobriquet Shooter. He has also had an intermittent affair with Dr. Beth Garner (Jeanne Tripplehorn), a police psychologist of uncommon seductiveness, who alternately recriminates with him and protects him against dismissal. Needless to say, Nick is basically a nice, vulnerable guy, even if his one sexual encounter with Dr. Beth recorded here is clearly of the S&M variety, but so carefully staged every inch of the way as to be a possible turn-on only for choreographers.

When a wealthy rock-club owner and playboy is found dead, nude, wrists bound to his bed with an Hermès scarf, his body (appropriately for that of an art collector) turned into a piece of bloody pointillism with an icepick, Nick has a hunch that it must have been the victim's girlfriend, the millionaire playgirl-novelist Catherine Tramell, who did it in an untrammeled moment. (We were shown the kinky sex *cum* murder scene, but the killer woman's face remained hidden.) Catherine writes mysteries that come to life—or death—exactly as she wrote them. Yet no one but Nick suspects her; surely nobody would be that self-incriminating? The killer must be some copycat reader, perhaps trying to do Catherine in. Since the police cannot produce another plausible suspect, but consider Nick's notion quixotic, we are already on shaky ground. That ground soon earns an even ten on the Richter scale, with Eszterhas's computer doubtless placed squarely athwart the Saint Andreas fault. Suffice it to say that Nick finds himself falling heavily into bed and love with Catherine, even as she flaunts her capacious files of clippings about him and her work on a new novel in which the detective falls in love with the heroine, who not so much melts him as turns him into finely chopped ice.

Except for the clever direction by Verhoeven and the lush cinematography of another Dutchman, Jan De Bont (who also shot *Shining Through*), there is nothing here worth further rehashing. But I must stress that Catherine has, or has had, several lesbian lovers, including a current live-in one, Roxy, whom she lets spy on her bedbouts with men. When this leads to Roxy's violent death, a momentari-

Alan Nahigian

ly distraught Catherine exclaims, "I shouldn't have let her watch us!" Late learning is one of the several buried themes of the movie.

It would be otiose to discuss performances in such a piece of hokum, unless one had in mind another type of performance altogether, which, however, given the infinite manipulativeness of the camera, is equally unassessable. That leaves what is essential here: looks. Sharon Stone, an ex-model, is decidedly beautiful, although in a manner too cosmeticized for my taste. Jeanne Tripplehorn (a name that unduly panders to punsters) is enormously sexy on stage, especially when, in a recent play, her body was being languidly soaped in a protracted bathtub scene; she suffers, however, in cinematic closeup, where her lips hog more screen expanse than any other Caucasian's I can think of. Leilani Sarelle (Roxy) looks like one of those dolls on late-night commercials whose conversational skills are hawked at $2.95 a minute, and whose acting is worth two cents an hour. Michael Douglas, women tell me, has a sexy mouth. Here, unfortunately, you can see the rest of him, too.

To the sundry homosexual organizations up in arms, I have two things to say. First, the lesbian scenes in this movie would not persuade the most susceptible 12-year-old of any sex that there are real lesbians here; second, the treatment of heterosexuals is ultimately every bit as insulting. So if we are going to take offense, it should be as thinking, not as sexual, beings.

■ I have not read Oscar Hijuelos's prize-winning novel *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*, though I know many of its admirers; I do, however, regret the film's shortening of the title to the far less poetic ***The Mambo Kings***, even though there may be a rough justice in this, as the movie omits the latter parts of the book. We get here the story of two mambo-mad brothers from Havana: Cesar, the protective elder one, and Nestor, the younger one, in need of protection. Both are accomplished musicians, but the bestial nightclub owner for whom they work craves Nestor's stunning girlfriend, Maria, and forces her to marry him lest he kill her lover. Cesar finds out the truth when the brute very nearly slits his throat. To avoid danger for Nestor, Cesar allows him to believe that Maria betrayed him, and whisks him off to a new life in New York in 1952.

Here they lead a split existence as toilers in a meat-packing plant by day, salsa musicians in various spots—mostly small, but occasionally big—by night. Nestor is the songwriter and trumpeter, still dreaming of repossessing Maria; Cesar is the rake, the realist, and singer-drummer-pianist. They start a band, The Mambo Kings, playing at the modest Club Babalu, while Nestor still yearns for a club of his own. Cesar, satisfied, has a steady mistress in Lanna Lake, the cigarette girl at the Palladium, who loves him; presumably, the odd girl on the side; and an appearance, together with Nestor, on the *I Love Lucy* show. What more can a pragmatist ask for?

Nestor meets a nice young Cuban fellow refugee, Dolores, who falls in love with him, even though she secretly craves and is craved by Cesar; they marry, although Dolores sadly realizes that the lost Maria will always

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be numero uno. In fact, the bleeding-heart bolero Nestor wrote for her, "Beautiful Maria of My Soul," is the leitmotif of the movie, standing for all sorts of things, probably too many. There are encounters with various greats of Latino music, shady figures from Hispanic nightlife, a fling (with a Maria lookalike) even for Nestor, and tragic death. Mostly, though, the film is about the love of the two brothers for each other, which is truly mystical and greater even than the love for the lost beloved, the lost homeland, the latest mambo.

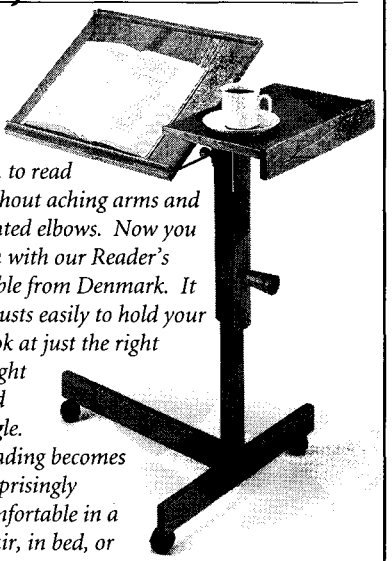
My guess is that all this works better in the novel, a genre in which texture can be woven more finely with leisurely minuteness, so that everyday life achieves a solid, palpable presence. The film was directed by a tyro, Arne Glimcher, co-owner of the Pace Gallery, who fell in love with the book, got the rights, and insisted on directing himself. There are some nice visual effects, as befits a gallery owner's eye, but also a certain thinness in the getting across of quotidian existence. There are some eye-catching montages as well, but these might as easily be the work of the splendid cinematographer Michael Ballhaus, who may have been directing the director.

At least the overwhelming fraternal love does amply register in a variety of soul-searching closeups and two-shots, covering everything from brotherly horseplay to something bordering on passion. There is also a genuine feel for the period music, Hispanic subdivision, and for the places in which it flourished. The acting, too, is good to excellent. Antonio Banderas is a warmly childlike Nestor, Cathy Moriarty (Lanna) as golden-hearted as she is platinum-haired, and the Dutch actress Maruschka Detmers is a touching, desperately human Dolores. Roscoe Lee Brown is oozily sinister as a Hispanic mobster, and as Maria, Talisa Soto is achingly lovely. But the magisterial performance is that of Armand Assante as Cesar. His accent may not be quite right, but everything else is superb; the performance is finely layered, doing justice to the macho operator, the impassioned ballroom dancer, the arrogant bluffer, and the suffering sibling. Assante has long languished in inferior roles; if *The Mambo Kings* helps him to his much-delayed stardom, it will have done us all sufficient service.

■ Michael Frayn's ***Noises Off*** was, for my money, the most dazzling stage farce to come out of England, or anywhere else, since at least World War II. It is the most beguiling combination of onstage acrobatics, backstage infighting, and a jaundiced view of human relations, on or offstage. It depends on split-second timing, verbal and gestural; on juggling with objects and bodies on stage, not on film, where everything is easily possible; and on undercutting British decorum with theatrical insanity. By transposing the action, first, to the screen, and, second, to America, Peter Bogdanovich, the hapless director, has doubly missed the point.

That the film still manages to entertain is a supreme tribute to the genius of Frayn (who did not write the screenplay; Marty Kaplan did) and the stage director, Michael Blakemore, whose assistant taught Bogdanovich the intricate comic choreography. With characteristic swinishness, Bogdanovich nowise acknowledges this in the credits. For the record, there are also two capital performances by veteran British farceurs, Michael Caine and Denholm Elliott. But the play is still the thing. □

Lay Down Your Arms



Ah, to read without aching arms and dented elbows. Now you can with our Reader's Table from Denmark. It adjusts easily to hold your book at just the right height and angle. Reading becomes surprisingly comfortable in a chair, in bed, or beside a desk. An intelligent design and a handsome piece of furniture in mahogany, teak, cherry, or black ash.

$199 + **$9.95** shipping via UPS ground
Assembly required—but worth it.
MC/VISA/AMEX/Check • Florida add 6%
Money-Back Guarantee • Catalog on Request
800-544-0880 or 407-276-4141

LEVENGER
TOOLS FOR SERIOUS READERS
975 S. Congress Ave., Code NART8, Delray, FL 33445

Political functions are always dull and boring.. *NOT!!!*

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN YOUTH RETREAT

June 12 - 14 - *Port Royale Beach Resort*, Corpus Christi, Texas

Beach volleyball, cookouts, and margaritas... at a political function? At the first annual **National Republican Youth Retreat**, you'll enjoy all this and more while meeting fellow young conservatives from across America at this summer's greatest political event! Dare to go where no youth activist has gone before... to the sun and sand of Padre Island! Don't miss this opportunity to spend a fun filled week at the luxurious **Port Royale Beach Resort** at the best beach in Texas! For further information on this event call **(214) 504 - 6324** or write: **National Republican Youth Retreat, P.O. Box 830737, Richardson, TX, 75083.** Join us and our invited speakers for this fabulous weekend:

Dan Quayle, Phil Gramm, Jack Kemp, Jesse Helms, Clebe McClary, Charles Jarvis, and Zig Ziglar.

Registration: Send check or money order to **National Republican Youth Retreat, P.O. Box 830737, Richardson, TX, 75083.** Please include your address, telephone number, the name of your organization, and roommate requests. If you register before April 10th, the cost is only $150, which covers a suite for two nights at the resort and all meals. The cost is $165 after April 10, $180 after May 15, and $200 for those who register on-site. If you register 10 friends , you'll receive a $50 discount.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART

Woof Woof at the Whitney

JAMES GARDNER

JUDGING from the adulatory response of the critics and the public to William Wegman's retrospective at the Whitney Museum, you would probably need a heart of flint to say anything unkind about it. Shall we begin?

Mr. Wegman is a 49-year-old conceptual artist who has built his career around photographing and videotaping a certain long-faced, sad-eyed Weimaraner named Man Ray, who looks like a canine equivalent of Fred MacMurray. Though Wegman, in his videos and photographs, has not actually harmed the dog, he was clearly out to embarrass him. He has wrapped the luckless pooch in tin-foil; covered him in fish net; appended flippers and roller skates to his paws; dumped a load of talc on him; and dressed him up as a gangster and a femme fatale. When the animal-rights lobby takes over the world, Mr. Wegman will have much to answer for.

For the time being, however, he is the toast of Those Who Know. Even Mrs. Yeltsin, on a recent visit to America, saw the exhibition and fell in love. It is depressing to consider that if she had gone to Rome she would have seen the Sistine Chapel; if she had visited Athens she would have been shown the Acropolis; but she came to New York, and all she got to see was one manifestly embarrassed Weimaraner in drag.

Much more dispiriting, however, is the thoroughly canine docility with which American museum-goers seem to take it all in. Standing around the television monitors in the video portion of the exhibition, they giggle when Wegman wants them to giggle and grow pensive when he requires them to be pensive. Wearing his characteristic torn jeans, he tries to get the dog to puff a cigarette. The college-educated onlookers laugh. The dog refuses to puff and they laugh harder. He pleads with the dog, the dog runs away, and now their merriment knows no bounds. Doubtless if he had looked into the camera and asked these people to roll over and play dead, the museum guards would have had to be paid overtime hauling them all out.

© William Wegman, courtesy Pace/Mac Gill Gallery

Why were they laughing? If it were only that they liked stupid pet tricks, I could at least condone a taste which I cannot share. I would even admit that some of the photographs are cleverly conceived and stylishly done. What troubled me was the expectation of rather more in the minds of these onlookers. They fancied that they were witnessing something vaguely important, that Wegman was not merely compromising the poor animal's dignity, but saying something of pressing concern to all of us, perhaps even something of universal importance. Witness the catalogue introduction: "In spite of the laughter and comedy in Wegman's work, it confronts us with the tragic, isolated *look* of the loner, the quintessential artist."

Wegman is also fully capable of a profoundly mirthless self-importance, which, in the catalogue interview, belies his laid-back, West Coast deadpan. Question: "The formal devices you were exploring in video have an analogue in literary criticism and in literature itself. What authors have influenced you?" Answer: "Besides Borges and Tolstoy? Proust." And

Mr. Gardner writes frequently about art for NR *and* Art & Auction.

A Great Tradition
Faithfully Preserved
In The Nation's Capital

A PERSONAL PLEDGE

As the owner of The Madison Hotel, I am determined to maintain the highest standards observed in the great hotels and mansions throughout the world.

Marshall B. Coyne
Proprietor

THE MADISON
Washington's Correct Address ®
15th & M Streets, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20005
(202)862-1600
Toll-free Reservations: (800)424-8577 Telex: 64245

SRS HOTELS STEIGENBERGER RESERVATION SERVICE
800-223-5652

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what about this priceless comment on Man Ray, who died in 1986 and was replaced by a bitch named Fay Wray: "Ray fit right in [with my art]. He was really curious about it and became very serious about our work." Our work! In fact, Man Ray became so fully identified with Wegman's work that he often threatened to upstage his master. As Wegman remarked, with more than a note of peevishness, "It is interesting to note that although I used him in only about 10 per cent of my photographs and videotapes, most people think of him as omnipresent in my work. It irked me sometimes to be known only as the guy with the dog."

No, after all is said and done, Wegman wants to be taken more seriously than that, and this is the real purpose of the present exhibition. Even if the pet pictures are given pride of place as the first things you see on entering the gallery, most of the art is concerned with other things. As for his grainy black-and-white videos, they have all the style and inherent interest of a public-access cable-television program at three in the morning. One of them, in which the artist drones on in his typical self-absorption, consists of nothing more than a closeup of his mouth and nostrils. In other videos and photographs the artist is seen shaving and using deodorant. This is certainly to be encouraged, but is it really necessary for us to watch?

If Mr. Wegman's abundant watercolors and pencil sketches are merely dull, his landscapes are more subtly exasperating. These huge fields of languorously inert pastel paint are the visual equivalent of Muzak. The colors have their tawdry appeal, no doubt, but there is no sensitivity in the use of materials or the coordinating of hues. What is worse is the disruption of these abstractions by airplanes and battleships of the plastic-model variety, all delineated in a precise if uninspired manner. Wegman is playing a shrewd game. He knows that neither his abstractions nor his figurations carry much weight. But by combining them, by playing one mediocrity off the other, he engenders in his more susceptible viewers the illusion that something is being expressed that is too urgent for mere formalism, too artistic for mere figuration.

The basic paltriness of this art would be tolerable if it weren't cast in such ghastly relief by another exhibition in the same building, a beautiful array of photographs taken by the great Paul Strand in the Twenties and Thirties. What exquisite visions, what noble penetration and absolute mastery of one's art! Though Wegman's exhibition is on the third floor and Strand's on the second, it is impossible to ascend from the one to the other without feeling that one has fallen from a great height to a great depth. □

DELECTATIONS

Sods and Squawkers

DIGBY ANDERSON

ALL IN ALL, Squawkers are worse than Sods. Both are a nuisance to any conservative cook, but the Squawkers are more difficult to flush out.

Sods (Special Occasion Diners) such as Jerry and Pamela are happy to explain their way of life and food to anyone who will listen: "Jerry and I both love cooking but only find time to do it on special occasions. But when we do it, boy! we make a thing of it. You see, in the week we're both so busy, and Jerry often has lunch with clients. When we do get an evening free, well, we're theater fans, so evening meals tend to be a quick quiche or frozen pizza. But every other Saturday we have a huge dinner party and cook all day."

What these Sods are up to will be familiar and odious to any conservative: they are turning what was a habit, an integrated part of daily life, into an occasional hobby to be indulged in when they feel like it. It is the way so many modern persons treat religion. Note also that cooking and eating, for Jerry and Pamela, is something that takes second place after making money or going to the theater—when, of course, it should come first. I haven't been to

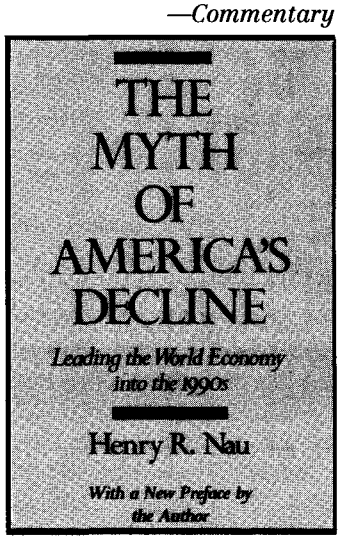
Mr. Anderson is food columnist for The Spectator *(London), and the author of* The Spectator Book of Imperative Cooking.

"An important message....Unassailable."
—*Commentary*

IS AMERICA IN DECLINE?

"Learned and important."
—Paul Kennedy, *The New York Review of Books*

"A major effort to show that the failures and weaknesses of the international economic and political order are not primarily the result of the decline of American power."
—William Diebold, Jr., *Foreign Affairs*



"Sharp judgments about international cooperation...cool-headed prognostications of the future...a better guide than the others to the shape of things to come."
—David Warsh, *The Washington Post*

"Nau has written more than the usual policy book. Well-documented and powerfully argued, its theme is simple but crucial."
—Doug Bandow, *The National Review*

448 pp.; 9 illus. paper $12.95

At better bookstores or directly from OXFORD PAPERBACKS
Oxford University Press • 200 Madison Avenue • New York • NY • 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the theater for twenty years because the way it is organized in England interferes with dinner eaten at the proper time (8:30).

But the main objection to the Sods is what Special Occasionism does to the food. Pamela's herbs and spices are stale because they only get an outing twice a month. She shops so seldom, she never gets to know the shopkeepers, who recognize a Sod when they see one and take the opportunity to unload all sorts of expensive and awful things that daily shoppers would never buy—de- and re-frozen salmon, ammoniacal Camembert, flaccid okra, colorful and tasteless salads. And imagine the disaster when the Sods decide to give a Chinese or Mexican dinner. Off they go, Ignorance hand in hand with Extravagance, to Chinatown, clutching a recipe book and assuming that that, plus their dollars and determination, will make them masters of the tradition of centuries by six o'clock that evening. And this they are prepared to inflict on people they are pleased to call friends.

Squawkers are people who squawk when food frightens or disgusts them, and the number of foods that do so is legion. "Aw, I'm afraid I don't eat liver." "Aw, I'm sorry, I couldn't, not baby rabbit." "Can't," "Couldn't," when what they mean is "Won't." Squawkers are disgusted by hare or anything cooked in its own blood, won't touch squid in its own ink, pale at all offal (sweetbreads, liver, hearts), and extremities (brains, tails, and ears). They squawk at testicles sauteed in oil with lemon. Food recognizable as something once living—small birds—they can't abide. Things which creep and crawl, which are sticky and slimy, snails, eels, and much seafood, produce loud squawks. It's not only eating. Many squawkers dislike touching certain foods: I've seen squawking cooks in their own kitchens trying to joint chickens with a knife and fork because they won't touch them and petrified in terror at the prospect of having to gut a mackerel or shove their hand up a duck's bottom to eviscerate it.

Squawkers rule out whole categories of food on the grounds that "they smell." These people, who, surveys reveal, spend more money than ever before on aftershave and talcum powder, who are happy in theaters which reek of a thousand people's stale perfume and indigestion-fueled breath, complain about the wonderful aroma of garlic, olive oil, saffron, wine, and thyme. "Aw," they go.

Which are worse, Sods or Squawkers? Well, the Sods are a danger when they invite you to dinner, the Squawkers when they are guests. But the Sods are easy to detect. When they invite you, just say, "Jenny, do something for me, just a little game we are having, tell me what you had to eat last night, Wednesday." When she tells you that they grabbed a quiche before *The Crucible* you know to make your excuses. But Squawkers lie. When you say "Is there anything you don't eat?" they reply, "No, I eat almost anything," then claim, when you serve the kidneys, that they are the only things they "can't eat."

The solution is always to announce the meal when you invite people and, whatever you are actually going to serve, say you are serving lampreys in their own or—since they suck the blood of other fish—lampreys in a cocktail of fishes' blood. It's a good way of selecting guests because, in my experience, persons who squawk about food tend to be squawkers on other matters, such as reverse discrimination or welfare, as well. They are best kept firmly out of the house. □

WEIDENBAUM

(Continued from page 45)

their purchases. The successful movement from whale oil to kerosene to modern means of illumination was accomplished without a panoply of governmental powers and interagency directives. The marketplace produced the economic incentives to avoid resource "depletion." That favorable experience runs counter to the many failed governmental efforts to "conserve" or "produce" energy.

There is one forecast that can be made on the basis of experience with earlier UN efforts to control the economies of member nations (such as the Law of the Sea Treaty, the Moon Treaty, and Consumer Product Guidelines). The conference planners will gripe that they had to settle for half a loaf, and the critics will contend that they succeeded in knocking out the zaniest ideas. Nevertheless, when Earth Summit is all over, the UN agencies will have achieved a substantial accretion of power and will start planning the next round of such endeavors.

Between now and June, the Bush Administration will have to brace itself for an unprecedented outpouring of high decibel, self-righteous, unscientific exaggerations. It is vital that the United States continues to be odd man out. There is no benefit from joining those other industrialized nations that are trying to curry favor with the poorer countries by advocating extreme positions unsupported by science or economics. □

Time,
Freedom, and the
Common Good
An Essay in Public Philosophy
Charles M. Sherover
"Its arguments are...unassailable, and its implications for the public philosophy are undeniable."
— *Time's News*
State University of New York Press
c/o CUP Services • PO BOX 6525
Ithaca, NY 14851
1-800-688-2877 (orders)
$3 shipping

AUDIO BOOKS
OUR COUNTRY
THE SHAPING OF AMERICA from ROOSEVELT TO REAGAN
MICHAEL BARONE
❦ On Cassettes
❦ Unabridged Recordings
❦ Purchase or Rent
❦ Over 400 Titles
❦ Professionally Narrated
BLACKSTONE AUDIO BOOKS
P.O. Box 969 Ashland, OR 97520
For a FREE Catalogue Call:
1-800-729-2665

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
Serving Lunch & Dinner
A Perfect Place for Parties
207 East 34th Street, New York
(212) 889-3239

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOWN CRIER

Re-Deck the Hall! Members of Town Hall, the conservatives-only meeting place run by NATIONAL REVIEW and the Heritage Foundation, will soon be introduced to more comfortable surroundings. Thanks to an exciting new graphic system (for both PC and Mac users), members will find the Hall even *more* user-friendly. They can expect their "keys" to arrive in the mail in late April. That will be just in time for a grand re-opening slated for May 1. Don't worry, Town Hall will remain open throughout the transition, ensuring all TH members their daily fix of right-minded news, debate, and discussion. If you're a member, TH will contact you with transition news, so stay tuned.

In the transition, Town Hall will welcome ten new stalwart conservative groups to its growing roster. THers will soon be able visit the offices of National Empowerment TV (where online versions of the Free Congress Foundation's "Library Court Live" and publications such as *Empowerment* will be offered), the Family Research Council, the Leadership Institute, and the State Policy Network. Members will also find a revamped and easier-to-use offering of Town Hall services, including fax, telex, and newswires.

If you haven't visited Town Hall yet, read on to learn more about joining the already humming facilities (the ranks have swelled by 50 per cent since January). Or for more information about networking your organization, contact Jeanne Allen, TH Executive Director, at 202-546-4400.

Conference Buzz. THers who have been convening in the Conference Center to chat live with new right-minded cronies never know whom they will bump into. Heritage Foundation President Edwin J. Feulner recently (Thursday, April 2) led fellow Town Hall members from around the country in a live discussion on the state of conservatism.

Upcoming events include a live Q&A session hosted by NATIONAL REVIEW Washington Bureau Chief William McGurn, on Thursday, April 16, at 10 P.M. EST, about *Perfidious Albion*, his new book on Hong Kong. And new members will want to stop by on Tuesday, April 14, at 8 P.M. EST for an initiation conference hosted by TH moderator Andrew "Murph" Murphy (Papillion, Neb.).

Dusted Thou Art. Town Hall's Washington Report scooped AP, UPI, and the rest of the Fourth Estate by being the first (February 21 at 11:06 A.M. EST) to report on the ouster of NEA chief John Frohnmayer.

By the way, Washington Report has good news for political junkies: Town Hall special correspondents will be filing daily reports from the national conventions this summer. *NR* Executive Editor Geoffrey Morris and others will provide up-to-the-minute reports on the goings-on at both the Republican and Democratic confabs.

Buchanan *v.* Bush. *NR* Critic-at-Large Joseph Sobran's latest posting in the Town Hall Meeting Place (message #7869) likened the current GOP primary contest to New York City's 1965 Buckley/Lindsay mayoral bout. "[Buchanan's] doing to George Bush essentially what Bill Buckley did to John Lindsay in 1965 . . . Bill, with no hope of electoral victory, attacked liberal Republicanism right in its stronghold and dealt it a blow it never recovered from."

Reprinted by permission, from *The 5th Wave* (Andrews & McMeel)

"It's not that it doesn't work as a computer; it just works better as a paperweight."

Research Assistance. Where does an overworked conservative writer go to get his "creative juices" flowing? Conservative Renaissance Man (and Town Hall denizen) George Gilder, faced with a looming speech deadline, turned to the TH Meeting Place (message #7633) to solicit data and reflections on the "so-called glass ceiling" affecting women in the workplace. Within a few hours, THers had offered up anecdotes and ideas, and in return Gilder gave members a preview of his speech.

'96 Elections. Town Hall members are already registering their views on the 1996 Republican presidential campaign in the Voting Booth's "1996 Primary" poll. Created by member Brian Wordall (Medford, N.J.), the poll asks members to choose a favorite from among 11 possible candidates. As we go to press, these are the results: HUD Secretary Jack Kemp is way out in front, with support from 47 per cent of voting THers, followed, in a three-way tie for second place, by Vice President Dan Quayle, Senator Phil Gramm (Tex.), and Pat Buchanan (all at 13 per cent). Among those with no support: California Governor Pete Wilson and Secretary of State James Baker.

Kudos. About his new Town Hall membership, *NR* subscriber Michael Risik (Grand Blanc, Mich.), who used to complain about having nothing to read in between issues of *NR*, says: "That was true until Town Hall. Now I read the magazine . . . in one night, then I have the next two weeks to be online. I've canceled my subscription to the *Detroit Free Press* so I can be close to a real free press."

Sign Up. Become a Town Hall member now—all you need is any computer and a modem. To sign up (and to take a free tour of Town Hall) by modem dial 800-648-6964, or call 800-441-4142 for TH Member Services.

Published as a service to NR *readers by Town Hall, Inc.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Business Opportunities

BECOME A real-estate appraiser. Home study. Earn professional designation. Free literature. 800-362-7070. Dept. RE173.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES. For information on this guide send self-addressed, stamped envelope: JDJ, P. O. Box 91255-B1, Washington, D.C. 20090-1255.

ROCKY MOUNTAINS—COTTAGE RESORT. 12,000 feet under roof with stream and large country home. $1.2 *mil. DDC*, P. O. Box 844, Ruidoso, N.M. 88345.

Clinical Services

SPASMODIC TORTICOLLIS recovery clinic. 3716 Old Santa Fe Trail, Santa Fe, N.M. 87505.

Literary

THE INSIDER'S GUIDE to Air Courier Bargains. How to travel world-wide for next to nothing. A unique, fact-filled guide not widely available in bookstores. $14.95 (plus $2 P&H) to: Inwood Training Publications, P. O. Box 438V, New York, N.Y. 10034-0438.

LINCOLN biography: tyrannical; suspended Constitution. Details. P. O. Box 458, Roscoe, N.Y. 12776.

THE MILITIA IN ANTEBELLUM South Carolina Society. 220 pages. Hardback. Some illustrations. $25. Jean Martin Flynn, P. O. Box 305, Taylors, S.C. 29687.

AUDIO REVIEW. Listen monthly to authors, scholars, policy makers; *William Buckley, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Bill Bennette, Joe Sobran, William Russell, Sen. Gramm, etc.* A dozen each month on a dozen different subjects when your reading is inhibited, i.e., driving, jogging, showering etc.
Subscribe to **"AN AUDIO VIEW"**
A 60 minute audio tape issued monthly for $29.90 a year.
If you would like a trial, send $5.00 for current issue to
Box 6, Springfield, VA. 22150, or call 1-800-323-3808

ADOBE DAZE. For story of how we built our adobe home ourselves, send $15 to: Horizons, P. O. Box 386, Roswell, N.M. 88202-0386.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

PAUL GREENBERG:

NAACP in Crisis

Having achieved a formal integration, black Americans like white ones now confront problems no court order may solve: poverty, drugs, crime, and family breakdown—not all of which can be blamed on that handiest of devils, racism.

FREE LIST of recommended cookbooks. S.A.S.E. to: P. O. Box 981, Berkeley, Calif. 94701.

THE STICK OF EPHRAIM revisits old question of Israel's "Lost" Tribes, supported by 20th-century happenings. Did the Creator abandon most of His chosen? $10. Pluck, Suite 106, 2490 Black Rock Turnpike, Fairfield, Conn. 06430.

IN SEARCH OF SPRINGS. For stories of ranch life in early New Mexico by daughter of pioneers, send $20 to: Horizons, P. O. Box 386, Roswell, N.M. 88202-0386.

PUBLISHER OF BOOKS concerning codes and ciphers, secret writing, etc. Aegean Park Press, P. O. Box 2837, Laguna Hills, Calif. 92654. 800-736-3587.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P. O. Box 1777NR, Culpepper, Va. 22701.

GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send $2 for listings of 25,000 titles and prices. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412.

Organizations

THE INTERNATIONAL
Churchill Society
Preserving Sir Winston's Memory, & Teaching the Next Generation

Quarterly Journal • Tours • Conferences • Publications
Subscription $25 or write for free brochure:
ICS, PO Box 385-A, Hopkinton NH 03229

Income Property Investigation

CASH FLOW. What it should be. Improvement specification or execution. Since 1980. OnSite Realty Analysis, Inc. 201-592-0090 (or Fort Lee, N.J. 07024-0009).

Financial

FOUNDATION GRANTS for individuals, to $180,000. Free recorded message: 707-448-2668. (2KH7).

Professional Services

CONSULTING EPISTEMOLOGIST, M.D., Ph.D. (Philosophy), author. Clinical strategies for self-inflicted dysphorias (or dysfunctions). One-hour telephone sessions available. 800-995-1492.

"TO BE LOVED, be lovable."—Ovid. Fuller and D'Angelo, P.C., Architects & Planners, 595 West Hartsdale Avenue, White Plains, N.Y. 10607-1894.

SELL YOUR company *now*, before low capital-gains rates disappear. Former international merger/acquisition president personally handles. Gary Douglas. 714-650-6785.

ART DIRECTOR with Macintosh. Conservatives—$55 per hour. Republicans—$65. Liberals—$75. 212-861-4496.

INSTALLATION, MODIFICATION, relocation. All types of warehouse equipment, racks, shelving, mezzanines, modular buildings. Crews available nationwide. Union and non-union. 17 years' experience. Bondable. Lee Installations, Inc., National: 800-241-6896. Fax: 601-868-5553.

Printing Services

For Sale

ELECTION YEAR CLEARANCE SALE! Prices awesomely reduced for *National Review*'s canvas tote bag ("The Right Way to Carry All Sorts of Stuff"). Attractive, sturdy, versatile. Could easily hold every penny you'll realize from a congressional tax cut! Now just $7.95 (plus $2 postage & handling). A better deal? Okay, you talked us into it: Two bags for $15 (includes postage & handling). Check or money order only to: *National Review*, Dept. C/Tote, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $3.00 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Frequency Discounts: 4 insertions, $2.75 per word; 6 insertions, $2.50 per word; 8 or more insertions, $2.25 per word.

NR Box Numbers: $10 additional. Responses forwarded by 1st-class mail. Address responses: c/o Tony Savage, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Display Ads: 1 column inch, $125; 2 inches, $250; 3 inches, $350. Frequency discounts available. Trim sizes are 1, 2, or 3 inches high, 2¼ inches wide. Camera-ready art must be provided. Rates apply to the Classified section only.

Restrictions: NR does not accept political advertisements. NR may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. No agency discounts.

To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order, MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW 100% SILK Adam Smith necktie. $30, postage paid. Visa/MasterCard. The Decatur Shop, P. O. Box 277, North Adams, Mich. 49262-0277. 517-287-5888.

U.S. FLAGS—sewn, embroidered, heavy outdoor nylon. 3′ × 5′ regularly $31, *National Review* special, $21. Other sizes available. 800-441-3524 (FLAG).

Real Estate

NINE WOODED, SECLUDED acres north of Atlanta, near lake. Owner: 404-382-9887.

HISTORIC FREDERICKSBURG, Va. Walk to D.C. commuter train (and private schools, park, Civil War battlefield) from in-town charmer. 5 bedrooms, 2 baths, 2 kitchens, 2 porches, FP, all HW floors—a real family home. $144,500. Call 703-899-1784.

WE PAY CASH for trust deeds/mortgages. Receiving payments from real-estate sale? Norman C. Purdy, Associates, will buy your note for *cash*. We work hard to meet your financial needs! For free, courteous quote on the value of your note, call 800-742-1314.

Situations Wanted

BUFFALO-BASED WRITER seeks position contributing to conservative-libertarian publication. PDL, P. O. Box 295, Amherst, N.Y. 14226.

CONSERVATIVE ATTORNEY/WRITER seeks interesting position in the conservative movement. Skilled at writing, research, public speaking; experience in Washington policy and politics, campaigning (including Reagan, Thornburgh, Buchanan); has worked for leading free-market think tank; former president of Federalist Society chapter. Respond to NR Box 2109.

Instruction

CONTRACT BRIDGE IMPROVEMENT. Bidding & defense, beginning & intermediate. Check Bridge does it for you. S.A.S.E. (52¢) for information packet. P. O. Box 4573, Ventura, Calif. 93007.

GOLF: Cut strokes with Reverse Putting Logic. Send $7 to: Stasio Enterprises, 13666 17th Avenue, S.W., Seattle, Wash. 98166.

Computers

APPLE II. Find out why you should own one. Already own one? Write for support information. The Alliance, P. O. Box 20756, Louisville, Ky. 40250.

Personal

ARTISTIC CONNECTIONS—Linking single lovers of the arts across the nation. Write: A.C., P. O. Box 116, Chatham, N.J. 07928.

THOUGHTFUL, ROMANTIC MAN, 29, loves Bach, Stendhal, Botticelli; seeks affectionate, unmodern woman who sees the world on her own, or tries to. P. O. Box 1178, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

SLENDER, "LIFE'S PRIME" NYC female of abundant looks and hue, young, zestful soul, seeks to summon the senses of "as is" male, 55+, active, serious, stable, seeking comfort and consistent sharing of worlds. NR Box 2110.

NICE SINGLES with Christian values wish to meet others. *Free* magazine. Send age, interest. Singles, P. O. Box 310-NR, Allardt, Tenn. 38504.

PENFRIENDS, ENGLAND–U.S.A. Make lasting friendships. Send age, interests. Free reply. Harmony, P. O. Box 82295NR, Phoenix, Ariz. 85071.

JAPANESE, ASIAN, EUROPEAN friendship! Inter-Pacific, P. O. Box 304-N, Birmingham, Mich. 48012.

RUSSIA, SCANDINAVIA, Great Britain, Poland, etc. Worldwide correspondence between professional men, women seeking friendship, marriage. Scanna Int'l (Since 1980), P. O. Box 4-NR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 800-677-3170.

ASIAN PENFRIENDS! Sunshine International Correspondence, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. 808-325-7707.

T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers

CAUTION: Politically Incorrect Driver! Bumper sticker. *$4 postpaid. Corrigibly Incorrect*, 3500 N. Roxboro Road #28, Durham, N.C. 27704

POLITICALLY INCORRECT

and proud of it!

Wear it with pride!

100% MADE IN AMERICA,
100% GUARANTEED QUALITY &
100% POLITICALLY INCORRECT
ORDER YOUR T-SHIRT TODAY
Printed in Blue Ink on a 100% Cotton White T-Shirt by Hard-Working American-Workers in your choice of S-M-L-XL - SEND YOUR CHECK OR MONEY ORDER FOR $15.00 EACH TO
GRAND DESIGNS
P.O. Box 22, Fair Lawn, NJ 07410
Allow 4-6 Weeks for Delivery

"VOTE DEMOCRAT: It's Easier than Getting a Job" (sketch of donkey in hammock). T-shirts, $16.95. Sweatshirts, $24.95 (S-XXL). $3 postage & handling. Bumper stickers: $3 (2 for $5), $1.95 postage. Visa/MC: 800-726-7105, or Check/MO: Little Rascals, 83 North St. Mary's, San Antonio, Tex. 78205.

Educational Opportunities

UNIVERSITY DEGREES without classes! Accredited bachelor's, master's, doctorates. Free revealing facts. Thorson-NR, P. O. Box 470886, Tulsa, Okla. 74147.

YOUTH LEADERSHIP SCHOOL. This program launches hundreds each year into effective political action. Get started right. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

BECOME A PARALEGAL. Work with attorneys. Lawyer-instructed home study. Free catalogue, 800-362-7070. Dept. LE173.

CAPITOL HILL STAFF TRAINING SCHOOL. Conservative? Want a Hill job? Veteran Hill staffers teach you what's what on the Hill. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!®
Learn on your own with audio-cassette courses used by U.S. State Dept. Programmed for easy learning, 76 languages in all. Comprehensive. Call or write for free catalog. **1-800-243-1234** Our 20th year.
AUDIO-FORUM® Dept. 824 Guilford, CT 06437

BROADCAST JOURNALISM SCHOOL. Conservative and interested in broadcast journalism? Learn basics from broadcast journalism staffers. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL IN SWITZERLAND

U.S. College Prep. Co-ed, Grades 7-12, Unique PG Program. Small classes, excellent facilities, dedicated faculty. Extensive sports, travel, and St. Moritz ski term. Summer language programs, ages 6-18. Contact TASIS U.S. Office, 326 East 69th Street, New York, NY 10021. Tel:(212) 570 1066. Fax:(212) 249 3097.

Political Memorabilia

WANTED—Goldwater fan will buy 1964 Barry Goldwater for President and 1964 Republican National Convention buttons and ribbons. Send photocopy to Bill Shpall, 880 West First Street, Suite 808, Los Angeles, Calif. 90012.

Miscellaneous

RUSH LIMBAUGH FAN CLUB. Carry the Rush card! Membership/newsletters $10. 197 West Utica Street, Buffalo, N.Y. 14222

GIVE YOUR DAD
A PIECE OF YOUR MIND
(and a lot of your heart)

Use NR's classified section to tell him how much you care.

FATHER'S DAY GREETINGS

Special Rate: $2 per word

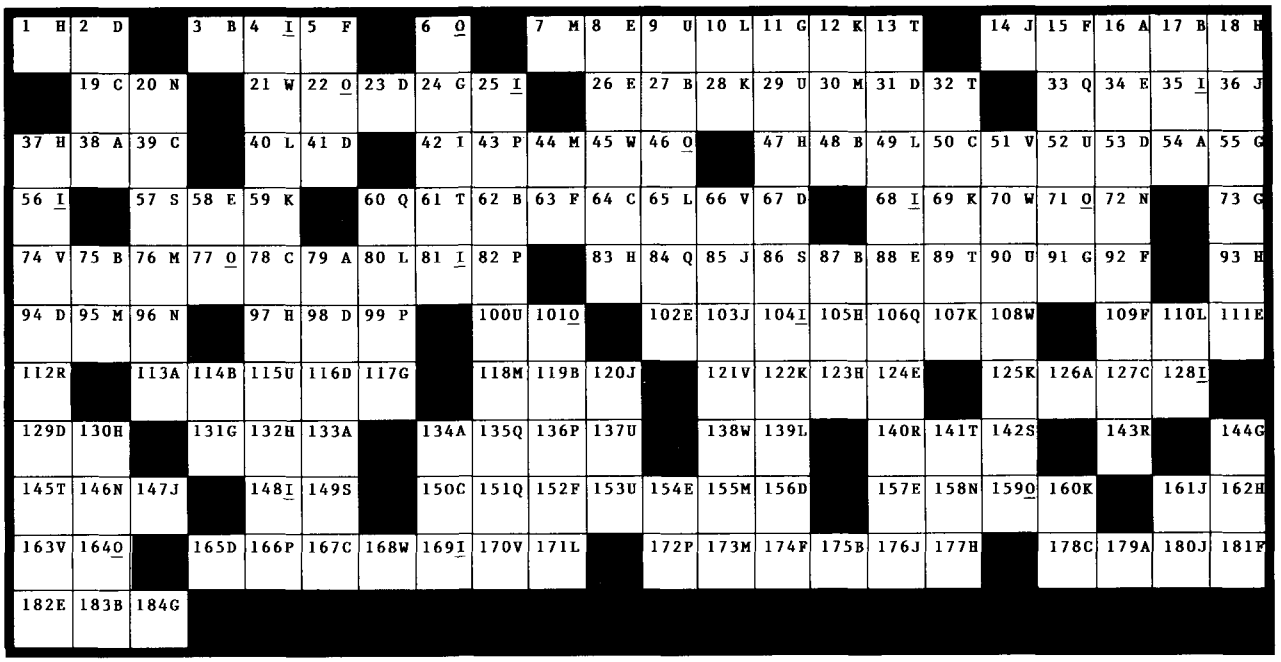
Father's Day is June 21;
Copy deadline: May 21
(for our June 22 issue)

Send greeting plus payment (Check, MasterCard/Visa) to:

NATIONAL REVIEW
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016
Attn: Tony Savage

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. Like a fractious child — 133 126 179 134 54 113 16 38 79

B. Citizen Kane (2 words) — 48 75 62 114 27 3 119 175 87 183

C. Byrd and Amundsen goal (2 words) — 167 178 50 127 150 78 19 64 39 17

D. Charles Atlas, e.g. — 23 67 129 156 94 53 116 98 41 2

E. Indefensibly — 154 58 111 34 182 88 157 26 102 8

F. Capitol Hill gladhander — 152 63 15 174 92 181 5 109 124

G. Painter's earthy subject — 91 131 55 117 184 73 11 144 24

H. Laid up — 162 132 177 83 37 123 47 1 93 105

I. Drawing nigh — 35 68 42 25 148 4 104 128 169 81

J. Jury-rigged — 36 14 147 103 85 161 176 180 120

K. Old West moment of truth — 107 160 69 122 59 28 125 12

L. Absolute — 40 65 139 49 80 171 110 10

M. Lobstery-sounding city in N.Y. State — 155 95 44 7 173 76 118 30

N. Minklike — 20 158 146 72 96

O. Extended-sounding social program — 22 77 101 46 71 6 159 164

P. Pekingese, e.g. — 136 166 172 99 43 82

Q. Aegean isle — 135 106 84 151 33 60

R. Deviate from course — 112 143 140

S. Loveseat's kin — 142 86 149 57

T. Pancake starter at the plate! — 61 141 89 13 145 32

U. Talent — 9 52 137 100 29 115 153 90

V. Nutty confection — 170 74 51 163 121 66

W. Doll of yore — 168 108 70 21 138 45

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 58 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

For a 34-puzzle collection of Trans-O-Gram, send $5.95 (plus $1 S&H) to: T-Gram Plus, 3279 Lake Powell, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Customers Are High Achievers!

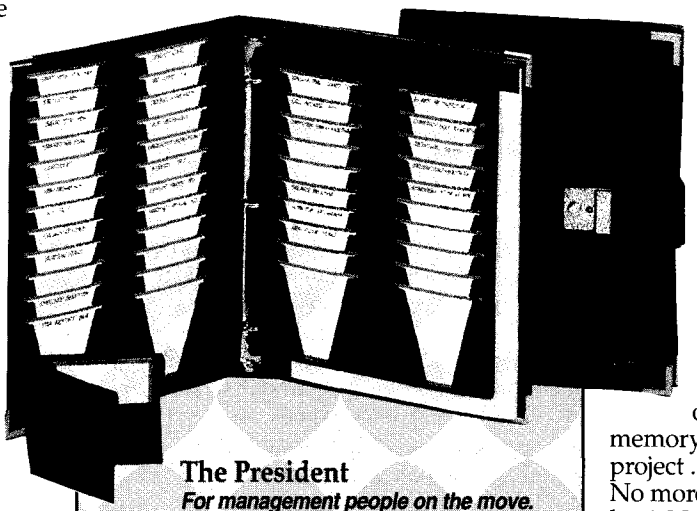
Successful people are attracted to this system
. . . and those who purchase it become even better organized!

Since its introduction in 1981, the **Executive ScanCard® System** has become a favorite organizing system for hundreds of thousands of executives, professionals and everyday busy people in all walks of life. It has been interesting that so many of our customers come from disciplined, productive backgrounds and are already successful in their careers. They have told us that our ScanCard® System helps them become even more effective in their busy lives — because it is so easy to adapt to their own needs and everyday routines.

Easy to use. Unlike most bulky and inflexible organizers and time management systems, the ScanCard® System is amazingly easy and fast to use. With its help, you can double, even triple the number of projects you can keep moving smoothly at the same time. Your personal productivity can improve dramatically!

So simple, it works! All you do is record each of your projects on a separate ScanCard® project card, and merge them into the system until the projects or reminders are completed. You can scan the cards in only seconds, to jog your memory on what is due next on each project . . . from whom . . . and when. No more scrap paper notes to get lost! Nothing gets overlooked — projects stay on schedule!

Money back guarantee. Try the system for 30 days. If not satisfied, return it for a prompt refund.

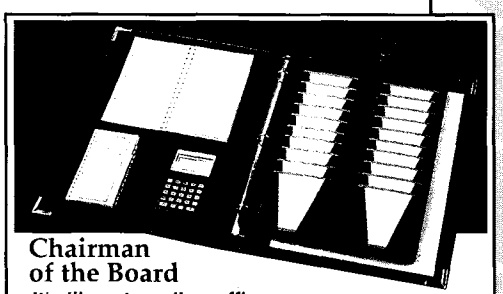


The President

For management people on the move.

- Holds 64 projects (more panels can be added)
- Includes pen holder and 8½" x 11" tablet.
- Your initials imprinted on cover (upon request)
- Includes Pocket Idea™ wallet & 500 ScanCards®
- Available in black, brown, or burgundy.

#P32 Leather-Like vinyl	***$49.95***
#P45 Genuine Leather	***$99.95***
#P95 Elegant calfskin (VIP series)	***$179.95***
#A10 Additional calendar accessory	***$11.95***



Chairman of the Board

It's like a traveling office.

- Holds 120 projects (more panels can be added)
- Handy appointment calendar and phone index
- Built-in multi-function calculator
- Several file pockets, pen holder, and tablet
- Your initials imprinted on cover (upon request)
- Includes Pocket Idea™ wallet and 500 ScanCards®
- Available in black, brown, or burgundy.

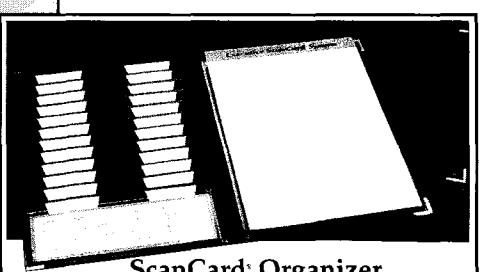
#CB31 Leather-Like vinyl	***$99.95***
#CB50 Genuine Leather	***$159.95***
#CB95 Elegant calfskin (VIP series)	***$259.95***

The choice of Fortune 500 Executives:

ScanCard® Systems are in use by executives at over 450 of the Fortune 500 Companies including:

IBM
General Motors
AT&T
Procter & Gamble
and many others!

Corporate custom designs and discounts available.



ScanCard® Organizer

Increased productivity in "thinline" form.

- Accommodates 24 projects
- Includes pen holder and 8½" x 11" tablet, Pocket Idea™ wallet and 500 ScanCards®
- Phone Index and year-at-a-glance calendar
- Handy Trap File™ for important papers
- Your initials imprinted on cover (upon request)
- Available in black, brown, or burgundy.

#043 Leather-Like vinyl	***$39.95***
#044 Genuine Leather	***$89.95***
#095 Elegant calfskin (VIP series)	***$139.95***

ORDER NOW, TOLL-FREE:
1-800-848-2618
(In USA & Canada!)
For fastest service FAX your company P.O. or credit card order:
1-614-421-3422

In a hurry?
Federal Express® delivery available.
Call for rates!

For shipments outside the continental U.S., add the following charges to the standard Shipping & Handling:

Alaska & Hawaii	**$20.00**	**Mexico**	**$30.00**
Canada/Puerto Rico	**$20.00**	**All others**	**$40.00**

Payment in U.S. Dollars. U.S. Pat. #4,571,867. International Patents Pending. Copyright 1992.

Mail to:

Executive ScanCard Systems
814 West Third Ave., Dept. 874
Columbus, Ohio 43212

☐ Check/M.O. enclosed ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard
☐ Diners Club ☐ American Express ☐ Discover

Yes, please send me the following **Executive ScanCard® System(s)**. I understand that it will double my productivity in 30 days or I may return my System(s) for a full refund.

Item #	Qty.	Price(ea.)	Color	Initials	Total

If your order totals	Please add
Under $25.00	$5.00
$25.01—50.00	6.00
$50.01—100.00	7.00
$100.01—250.00	10.00
$250.01—500.00	15.00
$500.00+	5% of sale

Subtotal	
Shipping, handling & insurance, see left	
Int'l orders S&H, see left	
OH residents add sales tax	
Total	

Payment in U.S. Dollars.

Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____ Title _____

Address _____ Suite/Dept. _____

City/State/Zip _____

Business Phone # ( ) _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ease Up on the Banking 'Scandal'

NEW YORK, MARCH 18

It inflicts much pain on those who welcome any opportunity to disparage the habits of Democratic congressmen, but my own inclination is to conclude the unbalanced-checking-account story is not quite a bum rap, but certainly a bummish rap. Considering what congressmen get away with every day, to get mad at them over the check overdrafts is indeed to break a butterfly on a wheel.

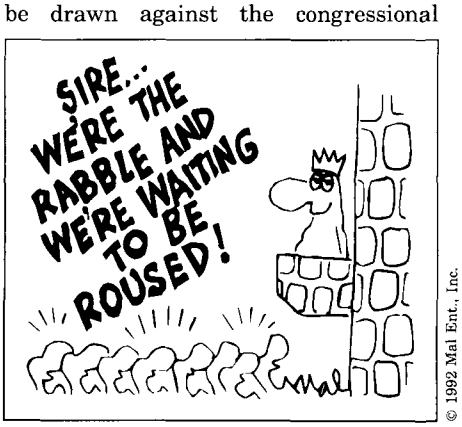
The story, as it gets out, tells us nothing much more than that a bunch of congressmen didn't pay special attention to whether there was enough money in their congressional bank to cover their checks. When the House Banker (a civil servant) got word that Congressman Jones had sent in a check in excess of his balance, the check got paid and, if the overdraft exceeded the monthly paycheck of the congressman, a notice would be sent. Most of the easy riders would then make up the deficit and, a month or so later (in many cases), the whole business would start up again.

From the information available at this writing, it isn't charged that any congressman simply defaulted. On the other hand we don't know what exactly would have happened if Congressman Jones had failed to be re-elected in November 1990, at a moment when he owed the House Bank $4,089. Were there any such, who actually left town owing money to the House Bank? If so, how were they pursued? What (if any) was the penalty?

Brookly Congressman Stephen Solarz is an interesting case in point. He is a Democratic legislator with a Stakhanovite appetite for work. Those who are on his mailing list are not surprised to get reports from him addressing the situations in Manila, Phnom Penh, Moscow, and Johannesburg. Sometimes you will even find yourself screaming: Solarz, why don't you *stay* in Addis Ababa for a week or two and let us have a little breathing space! But Mr. Solarz emerges as the fifth most "guilty," which means that he wrote 743 checks over a period of thirty months that exceeded the money he actually had in the Bank.

The most the voters can say about him is that he availed himself of a soft perk. Mr. Solarz takes immense pride in his civic-mindedness and raises two interesting points. The first is that it is not exactly right to bring down the guillotine on congressmen who violate a standard which had not ever been enunciated. A second point is that, sure, the congressmen ended up getting interest-free loans. But congressmen who deposited their money in the House Bank as distinguished from a commercial institution were forfeiting interest they might have earned. And then Mr. Solarz established that his overdraft money wasn't being used to play the commodities market or to gamble in Atlantic City. It was just household expenses. With a grand flourish, seeking to expunge from the record whatever conceivable trace there might be of material opportunism, Congressman Solarz wrote out a check for $2,400 to the House Bank. That sum represents hypothetical interest on overdrawn checks from the day they bounced until the day they were covered. That comes to approximately $80 per month. And remember, Solarz is one of the worst offenders, measured in terms of the number of checks that bounced.

When you consider the reasons we have for ousting the majority of House members, one is rendered (almost) speechless at the idea that an $80-per-month perk should distract attention from the grand indictments that should be drawn against the congressional brotherhood. These are people who appropriated money that has resulted in a federal deficit of $400 billion. These are pork-minded plunderers whose least bridge or tunnel or highway bypass would pay for interest-free House Bank money for every congressman until the turn of the next century.



© 1992 Mal Ent., Inc.

Choleric infuriation with the performance of Congress and with its banana-republic institutionalized devices for staying in office is urgently recommended, critically needed. The fixed-term amendment is the best political idea of the half-century. So focus on it, and forget the penny-ante stuff. □

Perot for Prez?

NEW YORK, MARCH 30

It is healthy to humor people, up to a point; and Ross Perot is a civic-minded American with original ideas, some of them bright and enterprising, some of them less so. But the one million telephone calls he has received urging him to run for President should be smiled at (I speak with authority as someone recently named in a *Parade* Mag poll as the third most intelligent person in America), understood as a form of flattery about as meaningful as a million calls proposing that Vanessa Redgrave be named Queen of England.

You have this to notice about Mr. Perot, in particular if you were listening to the profile of him done on *60 Minutes* by Morley Safer. It is that Mr. Perot has a comprehensive please-don't-disagree-with-me answer for any question. The Gulf War, he says, was a "stupid mistake." He isn't asked to elaborate on a point of view shared by a very small minority of Americans. But he did go on about the Emir's disgraceful departure from Kuwait after the invasion. (I should think it's a good idea to leave a country that has been invaded, the better to help organize its liberation. Charles de Gaulle and Queen Wilhelmina did it.)

Mr. Perot is a gentleman of imperious habits. Several years ago I edited and slotted an article in NATIONAL REVIEW on his heroic organization of a band of privateers to rescue several of his workers caught up in the Ayatollah Khomeini's hostage dragnet. Mr. Perot had authorized the release of the data to our writer. A few weeks later he called me to say that he had changed his mind, he wished the story canceled. I told him that the magazine was already on the press. In that case, he said, just cancel the entire issue and send him the bill. I explained

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to him (I am a patient fellow) that magazines don't run in quite that way. He expressed surprise.

As he expressed surprise on *60 Minutes* that he would have any problem dealing with Congress. "The key to progress is to get people to agree with you," he pronounced, as though the clouds of Mt. Sinai had parted, to herald this oracular pronouncement. Why didn't Madison or Jefferson or Lincoln think of that! Get everybody to agree with you, and Pfft!—problems just go away!

I suspect that one of the mythogenic qualities of Mr. Perot is his ostentatious disdain of ostentation. The best-kept secret in America, he told us, is that there are 1,200 jets carrying U.S. officials here & there, and he would put an end to that: let them travel by public carrier, get lousy food, and lose their baggage. . . . I'll buy that. It's Huey Long talk, and it is balm for the republican soul. But suddenly he moves on from there. He would pass laws limiting executive salaries. Oh? Yes: If you want to make a million or more in salary, then go become a rock star or a baseball hero or whatever, but there should never be such a discrepancy as is now common between managers and workers.

But take the time to parse that, if you will. In the first place, who is President Ross Perot, even though everyone in Congress agrees with him, to decide on behalf of the stockholders of IBM how much they wish to pay the president of IBM? They may make a silly decision on the subject, but everybody makes silly decisions, and in fact a lot of people who make silly decisions even write books propounding their silliness. Should such books be prohibited?

And by the way, Mr. Perot began with $1,000 in 1962 and ended with $2.5 billion in 1984. If he is so opposed to huge discrepancies between the pay of managers and workers, why isn't he opposed to huge discrepancies between the rewards of stockholders and workers? Why didn't he reduce his take to, oh, a hundred million, and give the rest to his workers?

Speaking of which, he is now worth, according to Mr. Safer, $3 billion. And he has got all the headlines by announcing that he is willing to back his own campaign to the tune of $100 million. . . . Big deal. He is willing to back his campaign to the tune of 3 per cent of his capital worth, which is about one-half of what that worth regenerates in one year, which means he'd be richer after election day than he is now, even having spent that money.

Oh, he is against Inaugural Balls—one of the first things he'd cancel. Waal, Andy Jackson, also a populist, had himself a hell of a ball, and the people loved it. When somebody makes it to the White House, the celebratory gonads get worked up and people do what comes naturally. It doesn't come naturally to encourage this nice gentleman to pursue his eccentric political ambitions, though he is fun to write about. □

Shamir vs. Bush

NEW YORK, MARCH 25

Prime Minister Shamir's accusations against the Bush Administration (it is trying to "determine" Israel's borders) should be weighed carefully.

1. As recently as a year ago, an opinion poll within Israel revealed that only one-half of Israeli voters favor increased settlements in the West Bank; and that of those who do favor such settlements, only one-half do so because they believe they are occupying territory that is properly theirs. The other half, or one-quarter of the population, favors continuing to do so only because the settlements provide a better defensive perimeter against Arab aggression.

2. The principal opposition party in Israel, the Labor Party, has come out in favor of a one-year moratorium on more settlements. The argument of such as Shimon Peres is, in effect: Let us see what happens to the peace negotiations, and then decide whether security demands further settlements.

3. The implied basis of the Madrid round that brought together Arab and Israeli leaders for the first time since Sadat met with Begin in 1978 was that UN Resolution 242, passed shortly after the end of the 1967 war, speaks of returning to Arab countries territory that had been seized in war. Israel has all along insisted, and quite correctly, that no such relinquishment of territory will be made until Israel is satisfied that peace has been achieved. Israel's bona fides on this point was established when the Sinai was returned to Egypt after Egypt and Israel came solidly to terms.

4. What then happened, however, was that the language of creeping irredentism began to take over. On Monday, Mr. Shamir spoke of the West Bank as "areas that are the cradle of our civilization." The sentiment is understandable, but it does not figure in the exchanges that formulated Resolution 242, and does not figure in the Camp David Accords of 1978. The talk of recapturing cradles of civilization, were it to become the key to resolving ethnic disputes, would hand Manhattan back to the Indians and South Africa to the Hottentots.

Now Mr. Bush is not, in the judgment of some observers, prejudicing the negotiations by refusing to give Israel the $10-billion guarantee it asks for unless Israel stops sponsoring developments on the West Bank. It is hardly an outrageous demand that colonization of areas whose occupants are 95 per cent Arab should halt, given that the purpose of the proceedings is to guarantee to Israel its physical security, and to return to Arabs land lost in war. It is the position of Secretary of State James Baker that to reconvene the peace conference while construction units are busily engaged in making more and more settlements on land destined, if the peace negotiations succeed, to return to Jordan, is to guarantee that the negotiations won't get anywhere. This reasoning is as inherently anti-Israel as the Labor Party of Shimon Peres is anti-Israel: the position of the Labor Party, and of the Bush Administration, is substantially the same.

Now there is an election coming up in Israel in June, and it is obvious to everyone looking on that Mr. Shamir intends to fight that election on the grounds that he stood up against Goliath and salvaged the honor of Israel. What happens in that election is important for Israel but also for the United States.

Because it is entirely possible that Mr. Shamir will sway a majority, including right-wing zealots of the Kahane school, and win a victory positively Pyrrhic in its consequences. Because to the extent that Israel relies on the United States strategically and economically, it would be penny wise to satisfy the marginal voter in Israel by using arguments entirely unconvincing to those Americans—a majority—who believe that Mr. Baker and Mr. Bush are being fair.

What would be an awful casualty of the dispute would be any attempted consolidation of the American Jewish vote in the November elections—based on the Shamir doctrine. There is no reason why there oughtn't to be at least as much division among American Jews as among Israelis. Amos Elon said four years ago on *60 Minutes* that it is wrong for Americans to suppose that they ought not to have a hand in shaping Israeli policy, given the closeness of our ties to Israel and our joint interests. It would help enormously if Israeli leaders who disagree with Mr. Shamir's prescriptions were to come here to give their analyses. It may appear disloyal to official Israeli policy to do so, but it would not be disloyal to Israel. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That Four-Mile Guinness

"THOSE three Guinnesses?" said Mr. Boyle, peering at me conspiratorially. "You never drank them. They never passed your lips." We were seated in the Mad Hatter, a saloon on Manhattan's Upper East Side, after running the Four Leaf Clover four-mile race in Central Park. "Your metabolism speeds up, and you burn 'em right off."

Such a philosophy appeals greatly to me, and is the reward of running. I realize conservatives don't run. The popular image of the Right is a seat in a club chair, Chesterton on the shelf, a glass of port in hand. There is something appealing about all that, too, although not now, not at this age. That's not the stuff that took the beaches at Okinawa.

It is through physical challenge in the outdoors that we feel most alive. I'm sure Wordsworth or William Cobbett or Davy Crockett said it better, but it's good advice for those "beyond the boom" who would carry the banner into the next century. I take a look around at most of my peers on what might be called the Writing Right, and it's not a pleasant sight, full of swollen bellies that look for all the world as if their owners had just swallowed an entire wheel of cheese, sunken chests concealing laboring, sclerotic arteries, pasty complexions—not to mention how the men look.

I am sure that in the great scheme of things, they will tell me that the zest for putting oneself through a four-mile run in 23-degree weather has something to do with Catholic school, where among other things, we learned to get over the fear of our own terrible inadequacy. In so doing, we also learned to foster a sneaking and abiding suspicion that someone was trying to take the easy way out, instead of doing it the right way. That is, the best of us did. The rest of us wound up in the penitentiary, or in therapy, or as turncoats to the faith.

Mr. Mysak is Editor of The Bond Buyer.

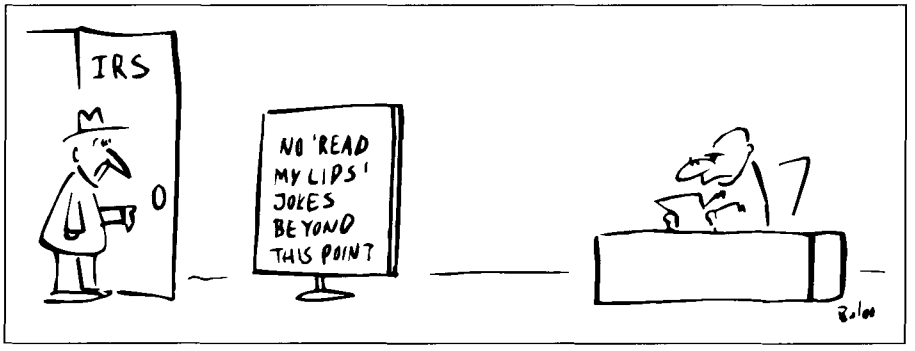
So there it is, a frosty and icy Sunday morning, and there we are in a grey Central Park, stamping our feet, stretching, clouds of vapor rising as the cold leaches every bit of warmth left in our bodies. *This is surely one of the most insane things I've ever done.* I take up my position, way in the rear, just ahead of the wheelchair and crutch crowd. *All fast guys to the front.* This is assuredly not the spandex scuba-suit crowd. I choose my pace car, a hearty and robust soul: John Candy. There does not seem to be any formal start to the proceedings, although I'm sure a starter's gun must have fired. I am so far back it takes me about a minute and a half just to cross the starting line.

Running a four-mile course with the polar bears is not especially stimulating. It does not put any money in the pocket. Nor is it particularly fun. But Olmstead's park is still a remarkable refuge from the city, with its ballfields and horses with their riders and private-school girls on their skates. We pound on, rabbits chased by greyhounds chased by deer, all followed by the big drafthorses and hippopotami in the rear. A hale pack of the Sons of Erin thunder past me. *They're off duty. Do they have to carry their service revolvers?* The run allows for introspection, and inspection of the soul.

But there is also a certain invigoration after about the third mile, especially when one discovers that there's something left in the tank. *Hey, I'll break 55 minutes*, I think, and I actually start *passing* other runners. *One side, grandma.* I pick up the pace. *Eat my dust, pop.* I catch sight of that familiar, silly, heel-and-toe waddle. *I'm not about to be beaten by funny walkers.* And so on. John Candy and I had traded the lead a dozen times, but now I leave him far behind. Here at last the finish, and a wife's welcome: "My God, you're alive."

Running also produces a brain with crystal-clear vision afterward, on the finish line, drained, lungs working like bagpipes. It is as if, for a moment, the horizon opens, and everything is thrown into sharp relief, both the future and the past, every wrong move limned, every sin magnified. Life and the decisions to be made are all so clear. The sky is so blue.

WE LAND with a rush. Thus the Mad Hatter, for the steak of beer, the meat of drink, Guinness, and to tell Mr. Boyle that he showed up in a dream the night before where I was inexplicably having a meal with Stalin in the Kremlin, and he was dashing in and out, saying, *Pictures of the czar! They're all over! It's like he never left!*



And to map out the precise course of the book on one of the Defining American Things of this century, the little car we brought up to the Moon and drove around. And to mull whether Carlton Fisk is done, and whether or not Matt Nokes is ready for a big year with the Yankees.

Conservatives don't run. But maybe we should. Maybe it's time to start, time to get over the writing of self-indulgent little fictions, and precious memoirs, and scrambling for some cozy grant money. Maybe it's time to get over the constant, nagging, overweening, paralyzing fear, and stretch a bit, and get on with the real work to be done out in the world. As with running, it's always easier not to. We might sweat. We might ache. We might think.

—JOE MYSAK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

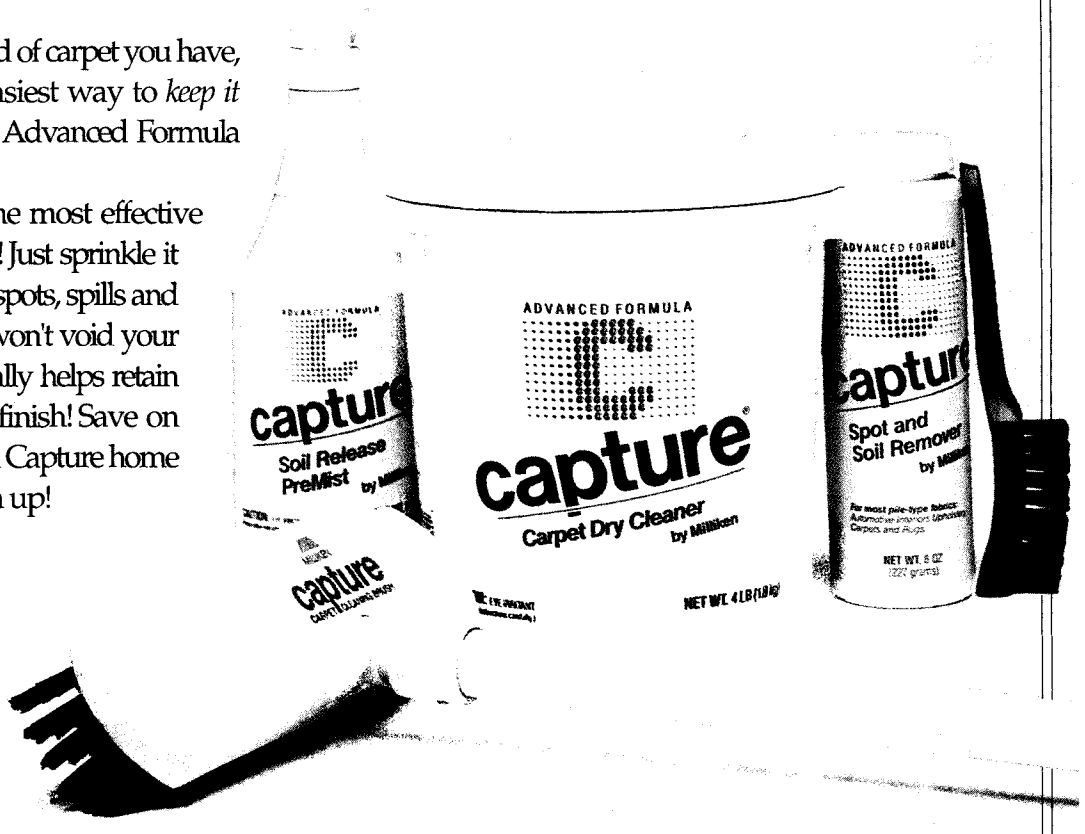
The Easy Dry Carpet Cleaner, For All Carpets!

capture®
Carpet Dry Cleaner

No Wetting. No Waiting. No Mess!

Regardless of what kind of carpet you have, Milliken brings you the easiest way to *keep it clean and beautiful!* The new Advanced Formula Capture home care kit.

Capture is not only the most effective carpet cleaner, it's the easiest! Just sprinkle it on, brush it in and vacuum spots, spills and grime away. And Capture won't void your carpet's warranty* —it actually helps retain your carpet's soil-resistant finish! Save on the new Advanced Formula Capture home care kit today—you'll clean up!

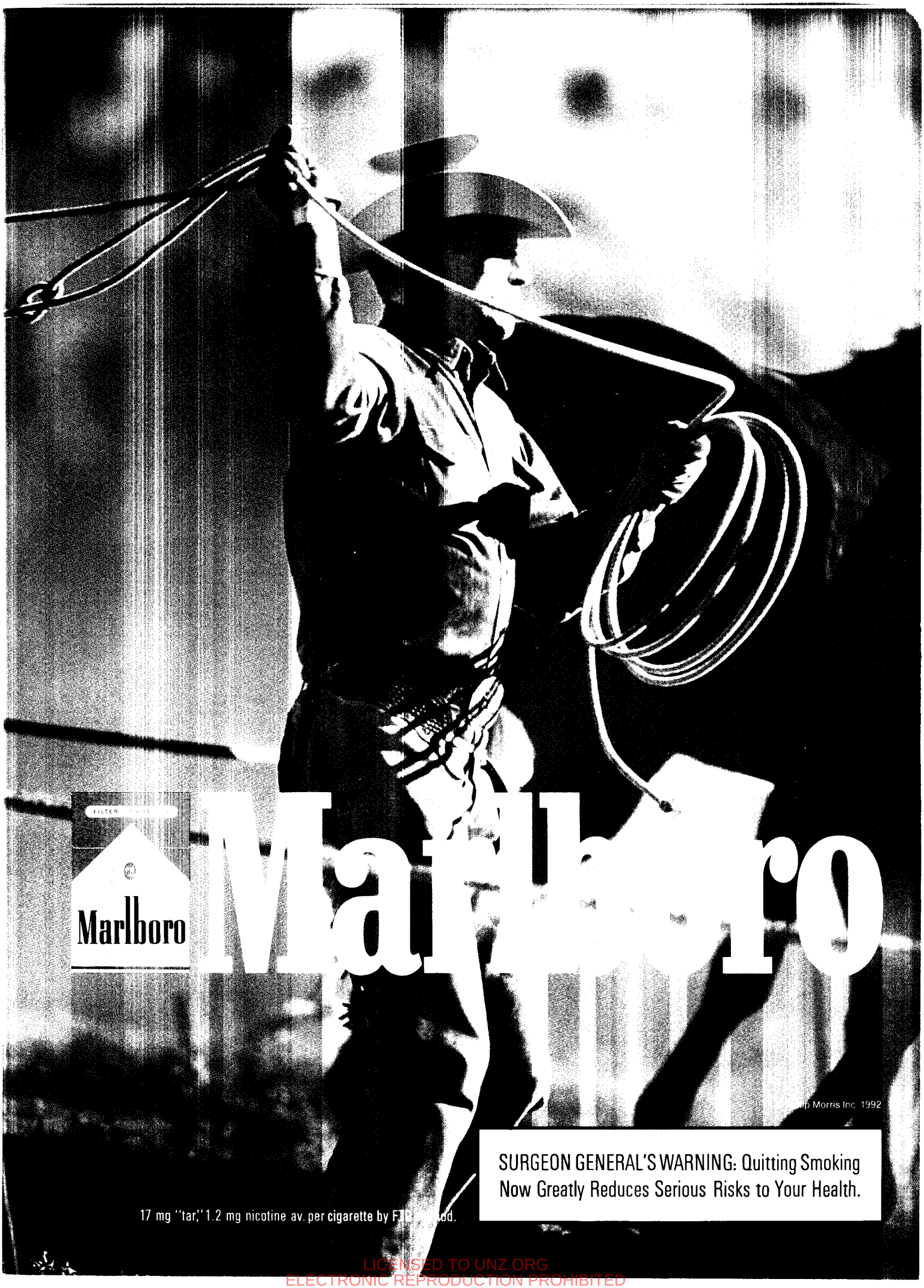


Call 1-800-CAPTURE
for the dealer nearest you.

MILLIKEN

**Advanced Formula Capture® is approved by leading fiber producers (DuPont, Allied, Monsanto) for use on stain-resistant fibers and finishes and all other fibers. Capture will not void carpet warranties. **Home care kit includes 4 lb. pail or Capture, 24 oz. pre-spray and long-handle brush.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


Marlboro
Marlboro
Philip Morris Inc. 1992
SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Quitting Smoking Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risks to Your Health.
17 mg "tar," 1.2 mg nicotine av. per cigarette by FT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED